

Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade

Revised Edition

Alfred J. Andrea



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Contemporary Sources
for the Fourth Crusade

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Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade

Revised Edition

By

Alfred J. Andrea

With Contributions by

Brett E. Whalen



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Cover illustration: A 1999 bronze sculpture entitled 'The Capture of Constantinople AD 1204' crafted by the artist Steve Pastner of Shelburne, Vermont and Ann Arbor, Michigan, and commissioned by Professor Alfred J. Andrea and Mrs. Juanita B. Andrea to celebrate the publication of the English translation of Gunther of Pairis's *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*. Dominating the sculpture is an effigy of Doge Enrico Dandolo; on either side of the doge are Boniface of Montferrat and Alexius III in profile. Images of scenes and individuals relevant to the capture and sack of the city as reported by Gunther surround and emerge from Dandolo's torso.

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In Memory of Donald E. Queller

A friend is a precious gift.

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PROLOGUE

More years ago than I care to remember, while I was involved in the task of editing, analyzing, and translating into English Gunther of Pairis's *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, my friend and colleague Donald Queller suggested that I translate and analyze some of the other "minor sources" for the Fourth Crusade. Given Don's preference (one is tempted to say *reverence*) for Geoffrey of Villehardouin's *La conquête de Constantinople*, I was willing to overlook his characterizing Gunther's *Hystoria* as *minor*, and given Don's status as the scholar who revolutionized Fourth Crusade studies, I was flattered that he asked me. Yet numerous other research and publication projects were on my agenda. Those who knew and loved Don, however, know that he could be quite insistent in his gentle way, and I eventually agreed to begin the project.

It soon became apparent to me that this was not an easy task that could be done in a year or two. One of the chief problems was that a number of the sources desperately needed modern critical editions. To be sure, I was able to prepare and publish in the pages of *Historical Reflections* editions of two quite brief sources, the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* and the *De terra Iherosolimitana et quomodo ab urbe Constantinopolitana ad hanc ecclesiam allate sunt reliquie* by the so-called Anonymous of Soissons, but this hardly made a dent in the problem. The registers of Pope Innocent III, the *Gesta Innocentii III.*, and Count Hugh of Saint Pol's report to the West of 1203 all demanded new editions, and of these, the papal registers of Innocent presented an apparently insurmountable task given their volume and complexity.

Happily the editorial work of others has relieved me of these burdens. A team of scholars at the Austrian Cultural Institute in Rome, led by Professor Othmar Hageneder, has systematically been editing the registers of Innocent III since 1964. To date, five out of a projected sixteen volumes have appeared (volumes 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7), with a sixth volume (volume 8) promised in the near future. As

good fortune would have it, all of the extant registered letters of Innocent relating to the Fourth Crusade appear in either the already edited volumes or the forthcoming volume. During the period 1998-1999, as I worked to complete this book, one of the editors, Dr. Christoph Egger, sent via e-mail prepublication copies of several key letters that will appear in the forthcoming volume 8. What is more, he enthusiastically shared his own insights into these letters. Without his collegial generosity, my work would have been delayed by several years. Editorial work on the early thirteenth-century *Gesta Innocentii III.* is not yet completed, but given the fact that it is in the capable hands of Professor James M. Powell, who has recently completed a first draft of a translation of the work, I have been relieved of the burden of including that text in this already lengthy book. In the case of Hugh of Saint Pol's letters to the West, Rudolf Pokorný's edition of Count Hugh's letter to R. de Balues has provided me with the key document from which I could construct a comparative analysis of all four extant versions of Saint Pol's letters. I trust that my notes clearly indicate the debts I owe all of these scholars.

It also became apparent that this task afforded me an excellent opportunity to involve my more advanced students in the process of close textual analysis. Here I borrowed a page from Don Queller, who always invited his own students to join in his research. Over the years, Cynthia R. Arthur, Adam J. Gurien, Paul I. Rachlin, and especially Brett E. Whalen have all tied their own research to this project. Cynthia's Master of Arts thesis revolved about a translation and analysis of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, and although I disagree with several of her core arguments, I have learned much from her work and accept several important insights that she has reached, especially regarding the basic contractual nature of the *DC*. Adam worked on Hugh of Saint Pol's letter to Duke Henry of Louvain as his senior honors thesis, and Paul prepared a translation and study of the Anonymous of Soissons as his senior honors thesis. Although I have altered their translations substantially, have disagreed with some of their conclusions, and have added a fair amount to their work, this book owes much to them. More than that, I can never repay the satisfaction, indeed the joy, that I experienced in the years during which I functioned as their mentor and friend. Brett E. Whalen undertook detailed translations and studies of the accounts of Alberic of Trois Fontaines and

Ralph of Coggeshall and did so largely on his own after having completed his Master of Arts work under my supervision. In the process of his work, drafts passed between us with great frequency as he translated and wrote and I engaged in the far less demanding task of amending and emending what is now Part III of this book. As a consequence, that portion of the book became our joint production, and it is only fitting that Brett Whalen's name appears on the title page as a contributor. As is true of Cynthia, Paul, and Adam, I consider Brett much more than a former student; he is a life-long friend, and I have been privileged to work with him.

Notes that accompany letters from the registers of Innocent III testify to my debt to Professor John C. Moore. In the course of fashioning our collaborative study of the pope's role in the Fourth Crusade, Jack provided me with a number of insights and even delightful turns of phrase.

Another colleague who deserves recognition and gratitude is Thomas F. Madden, who read the full typescript of the penultimate draft of this book and made several important suggestions—most of which I have adopted. The only suggestion of his that I have not followed is that I add several letters of Innocent III: namely, the pope's letter of 8 May 1201 to the Venetian clergy urging them to prepare for the crusade; his letter to Emeric of Hungary of 9 November 1202 and subsequent letters regarding the conquest of Zara; and the entire papal letter of 5 August 1206 to the Venetians, in which the pope reproved them for their conduct on the crusade. My failure to heed Tom's advice is no reflection on the merit of his excellent suggestion. I can only ascribe the decision not to do so as due in part to my desire to not add to the already considerable length of the book and in part to my hard-headedness. I trust my friend will understand.

Also lending support of the moral sort has been Stuart Campbell and the rest of the editorial staff of *Historical Reflections*, in whose pages early translations of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, and the works of the Anonymous of Soissons and the Anonymous of Halberstadt first appeared. Revised versions of those translations and their accompanying notes and analyses appear in this present book thanks to the generous permission of *Historical Reflections*.

The editorial staff of Brill Academic Publishers has likewise been quite supportive and understanding, and I wish to thank especially

Julian Deahl, Marcella Mulder, and Gera van Bedaf for all of their help and kindnesses.

Only my wife, Juanita, who has had to endure countless weekends, holidays, and nights as I buried myself in my study, understands how much I owe her.

Acknowledging the support of so many colleagues and friends in no way relieves me of the responsibility for whatever errors and oversights I have committed and left uncorrected.

AJA

31 December 1999

INTRODUCTION TO THE 2008 REPRINT EDITION

Sales of the original printing of *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* have mandated a reprinting, and in a perfect world, recent studies of the Fourth Crusade would have led to my reworking the book's notes and bibliography. Unfortunately, other projects, which have laid heavy demands on my time, have precluded any such revision. The only change incorporated into this reprinting, and it is an important one, is my adding as appendices critical editions of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* and the Anonymous of Soissons' *De terra Iherosolimitana*. They should have been included in the 2000 printing of the book, but in my misguided attempt to expedite the book's appearance, they were left out. *Mea culpa*.

Persons interested in the continuing academic dialogue regarding the Fourth Crusade will be pleased to note that James M. Powell's promised translation of the *Gesta Innocentii III*. has appeared, and likewise John C. Moore's new biography of the pope is now in print.¹ For essays on some of the persons involved in the crusade, researchers will now want to consult ABC-Clio's *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*.² Recent additions to the already rich collection of books on the Fourth Crusade have been offered by Michael Angold, Jonathan Harris, Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Thomas F. Madden, Marco Meschini, and Jonathan Phillips. All appeared in or shortly before 2004, the 800th anniversary of the crusade's capture of Constantinople.³

AJA

March 2008

¹ *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by James M. Powell (Washington, D.C., 2004). In an appendix on pages 270-271, Powell offers significant emendations to David Gress-Wright's edition of the Latin text. Ane L. Bysted reviewed Powell's translation in *Crusades* 5 (2006): 210-211. John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant* (Leiden and Boston, 2003). A paperback edition is forthcoming from Notre Dame Press.

² Alan V. Murray, ed., *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, California, 2006). The entry on the Fourth Crusade by A. J. Andrea and Thomas F. Madden is at 2:449-457.

³ Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow, England, 2003); Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (Hambledon and London, 2003); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 2004); Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo & the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore and London, 2003); Marco Meschini, *1204 L'Incompiuta: La quarta crociata e le conquiste di Costantinopoli* (Rome, 2004); Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York, 2004). Thomas F. Madden reviewed Angold, Meschini, and Phillips in *Crusades* 5 (2006): 201-204. Paul Stephenson reviewed Harris and Lilie in *ibid.*, 225-226.

INTRODUCTION

Students at all levels, from university undergraduates to professional historians, who desire English translations of the sources for the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) already have access to good English renderings of the eyewitness accounts of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert of Clari, Nicetas Choniates, and the *Novgorod Chronicle*.¹ Additionally, a translation of Gunther of Pairis's *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, an important but highly distorted second-hand account of the crusade adventures of Abbot Martin of Pairis, recently appeared.² In an attempt to add to this canon, I have also published new Latin editions and English translations of the eyewitness *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* and a second-hand account by the so-called *Anonymous of Soissons*, as well as a translation of that portion of the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* (*The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt*) that deals with the crusade experiences of Bishop Conrad of Krosigk.³ Because these three works appeared serially in an academic journal with limited circulation, they have been less than easily accessible to students of the Fourth Crusade and require inclusion in a book.

¹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. by M. R. B. Shaw in *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Baltimore, 1963); Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. by Edgar H. McNeal (New York, 1936, repr. 1966); Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, trans. by Harry J. Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984); Jared Gordon, trans., "The Novgorod Account of the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 58 (1973): 297-311.

² Alfred J. Andrea, ed. and trans., *The Capture of Constantinople: The "Hystoria Constantinopolitana" of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia, 1997). Peter Orth's edition of the Latin, *Gunther von Pairis, Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe* (Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994), is now the standard text and will remain so indefinitely. The notes to *Capture* indicate those few places where my reading of the MSS. differs from Orth's.

³ Alfred J. Andrea, ed. and trans., "The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade: An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation," *Historical Reflections* 19 (1993): 131-149; Alfred J. Andrea and Paul I. Rachlin, eds. and trans., "Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft: The Anonymous of Soissons's *De terra Iherosolimitana*: An Analysis, Edition, and Translation," *ibid.*, 18 (1992): 157-175; Alfred J. Andrea, trans., "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade: Popular Religion in the Early Thirteenth Century," *ibid.*, 22 (1996): 457-477.

As important as these translations are, other, yet untranslated sources for the Fourth Crusade demand equal attention. These include: the *Gesta Innocentii III.* (*The Deeds of Innocent III*), an account of the first ten years of Innocent III's pontificate; the crusade correspondence of that same pope covering the years 1198-1205 contained in his official registers; three letters of 1203-1204 to the West by the crusade's baronial leaders, each of which reported recent twists and turns in the crusade; the *March Pact* of 1204 drawn up between the Venetian and Frankish crusaders; and two second-hand, probably even third-hand, accounts of the crusade in the chronicles of Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines. Were all of these to be translated into English, essentially all of the major documentary evidence relating to the Fourth Crusade would be available to Anglophone scholars.⁴

As noted in the Prologue, Professor James M. Powell is currently working on a new Latin edition and English translation of the *Gesta Innocentii III.*⁵ It would, therefore, be inappropriate to present here an independent translation and study of that work, but on occasion I shall translate passages in the *Gesta* that shed light on certain papal letters from the registers.⁶ But this still leaves the large body of letters relating to the crusade that Pope Innocent dispatched and received and that were incorporated into his registers, the baronial letters to the West, the *March Pact*, and the thirteenth-century chronicles of two Cistercian monks—the Englishman Ralph of Coggeshall and the Frenchman Alberic of Trois Fontaines. For good measure, updated versions of the not widely known translations of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, the Anonymous of Sois-

⁴ The words "essentially" and "major" do allow a certain amount of wiggle room. Nicholas Mesarites's untranslated funeral eulogy for his brother John in *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, I: Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes*, ed. August Heisenberg in *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Abh. 5 (Munich, 1923), provides a short description of the crusade from the Byzantine perspective.

⁵ Powell has identified the anonymous author of the *Gesta* as Cardinal Petrus Beneventanus: James M. Powell, "Innocent III and Petrus Beneventanus: Reconstructing a Career at the Papal Curia," *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John C. Moore (Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming).

⁶ The *Gesta Innocentii III.* will be cited in two editions: David R. Gress-Wright, ed., "The *Gesta Innocentii III.*: Text, Introduction and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1981); J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (PL), vol. 214. Also, many but certainly far from all of the letters that appear among the forty-one letters that I have translated from Innocent's registers are included, often in altered form, in the *Gesta*.

sons, and the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* also appear on this list of sources that demand inclusion in the present book. These, therefore, are the various perspectives through which we shall view the Fourth Crusade.

PART ONE

IN THE HEAT OF EVENTS: SOURCES IMMEDIATE TO THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Fifteen years ago, Charles M. Brand opined that the best historical sources are those composed closest to events, and given that criterion, he judged the three letters to the West by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade army to be the starting point for our study of that crusade.¹ This judgment exaggerates the worth of these three after-action reports (and works of propaganda), but there is a good deal of truth in the view that sources immediate to events deserve especially close and careful study by historians. Unfortunately, so far as Fourth Crusade studies are concerned, these three letters, as well as the correspondence of Pope Innocent III, have not received the systematic attention they deserve and have not been made available in English translation. As for the *March Pact* of 1204, although it has been carefully and systematically studied by legions of experts on the crusade, it has not been made available in English translation. This first section of the book aims to redress these oversights.

Our task is made easier by virtue of the fact that the official collected correspondence of Innocent III contains not only letters sent out from the papal court but letters received in the course of this crusade. Among those letters are two of the three baronial letters to the West—the letter of August 1203 in the name of all of the crusade's Frankish leaders that described the army's first capture of Constantinople and the letter of Baldwin of Flanders of May 1204 describing the crusaders' second capture of the city. It also contains a copy of the *March Pact*, which the crusade princes sent the pope for ratification. This means that only the report of Count Hugh of Saint Pol describing the events of the summer of 1203, which he apparently sent in at least four versions to friends in Europe, must be treated separately.

¹ Charles M. Brand, "The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984): 38.

I. THE REGISTERS OF INNOCENT III

Beginning at least as early as the fourth century, popes and their functionaries preserved copies of important letters and other documents, but it was only in the pontificate of Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), the pope of the Fourth Crusade, that a consistent archival policy was set in place to preserve in a systematic manner papal correspondence. Letters deemed especially significant (and these probably constituted only a small percentage of the many documents that emanated from or flowed into the papal *chancery*, or secretariat) were copied into bound volumes known as *registers* and were arranged by pontifical year. In Innocent's case, except for his first and last years as pope, the pontifical year ran from 22 February through 21 February because he had been crowned and officially installed as pope on 22 February 1198. His first year began on 8 January 1198, the day of his election, and his nineteenth year ended with his death on 16 July 1216.

Needless to say, Innocent's papal registers provide historians with an invaluable body of evidence, but they are also flawed in several ways. First of all, for reasons beyond our understanding, not all letters and other documents that we would consider significant were enregistered. Also, there is good reason to conclude that some documents appearing in the registers were based on drafts that might have been reworked before being dispatched. The opposite also seems likely. There is reason to infer that some papal legal decisions known as *decretals* which appear in the registers might be reworked versions of the original texts. Then there is the issue of whether or not a letter that appears in the registers actually was dispatched. Several of the letters that appear in the present collection have fallen under such suspicion, and due notice will be made of these suspicions in the introductions accompanying those letters. Then there is the issue of dating letters. Although letters were largely enregistered in the sequence of their composition or reception, this was not an inflexible practice. Some letters were arranged in a

register to appear next to related letters. Inasmuch as many enregistered letters bear no dates of composition, this practice has, at times, led to some confusion regarding the dating of certain key sources. Adding to all of these problems is the fact that the entire registers for years 4, 17, 18, and 19 of Innocent's pontificate were lost sometime after the mid thirteenth century, and most of the register for year 3 is likewise missing. It is worth keeping in mind that Innocent's third and fourth pontifical years (22 February 1200-21 February 1202) comprised a period in which Frankish and Venetian plans for the upcoming crusade took clear shape.

In addition to these flaws, gaps, and eccentricities that compromise somewhat the value and usefulness of Innocent's registers, there is a nagging question that begs addressing: To what extent do the extant enregistered letters show us the mind and personality of Pope Innocent III? As is true of any well functioning bureaucracy, a good number of these letters were probably composed, or at least drafted, in the pope's name by one or more members of his chancery. At the same time, letters that contained important policy statements undoubtedly received careful papal review and might even have been dictated by the pope himself. Undoubtedly also, policy positions were articulated only after careful consideration by the pope and his closest advisors in the *curia*, or papal court.

The forty-one items that appear below are arranged in the order that they appear in Innocent's registers 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8.¹ The citations to the letters follow this form: The term *Reg.* is an abbreviation for "register"; the initial Arabic numeral refers to the register year; the second number refers to the enregistered document's assigned number within that register year as determined by the editors at the Austrian Cultural Institute in Rome; when the second number is followed by a third in parentheses, the third number refers to the number assigned the letter in an earlier, somewhat flawed edition of Innocent's registers found in J. P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (PL).

As is true of all clerical writings from this era, the letters are filled with biblical allusions and quotations. The notes that accompany the present translations identify only those biblical references where

¹ All enregistered letters that are translated here are based upon Othmar Hageneder et al., eds., *Die Register Innocenz III.*, 5 vols. to date but numbered according to the register year, with a sixth volume (vol. 8) forthcoming (Graz-Cologne, Rome, Vienna, 1964-).

something is directly quoted or where a reference might confuse the modern reader.

Innocent III's Fourth Crusade Correspondence

Reg. 1:336

15 August 1198

Composed on the feastday of the Virgin Mary's Assumption into Heaven, copies of this letter were dispatched throughout Western Christendom. The register's copy is addressed to the clergy and laity of Narbonne in that Mediterranean region of southern France known as Languedoc; the same letter, but addressed to the archbishop of York and his clergy and laity, has also survived in four thirteenth-century English copies.² Comparison of these letters to southern France and northern England reveals no significant differences.

This official call to crusade is filled with the rhetoric and imagery of crusading,³ and assumes the tone of a sermon—a genre of which Innocent was a master. Its passion alone provides clear evidence of the pope's commitment to the recovery of Jerusalem.⁴ In the encyclical Innocent clearly delineated the indulgence and other privileges accorded crusaders, and what is more, we see how the pope made it possible for all Western Christians, not just warriors and those who accompanied them to the East, to share in the spiritual blessings of the crusade.⁵ In a dramatic and far-reaching break from

² *Register Innocenz III.*, 1:498.

³ Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass, 1991), 81-83, analyzes this bull's form and substance.

⁴ Certainly Innocent's contemporaries at the Roman Curia had no doubt about the pope's zeal for the Holy Land. The author of the *Gesta Innocentii III.* wrote:

In the midst of [all his] affairs, he quite fervently longed for the relief and recovery of the Holy Land and anxiously mulled over how he could achieve this more effectively. Because, in truth, quite a few said by way of disparagement that the Roman Church was imposing heavy and unbearable burdens on others, while not itself wishing to move them with a single finger, he selected two of his brothers, namely Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede, and Peter, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata, and he laid on them the emblem of the Cross, so that they might, by word and example, invite others to the service of the Crucified One. (Gress-Wright, 67; PL 214:lxxxix).

⁵ Offering crusade indulgences to those who only assisted the crusade without actually undertaking the journey and risking its hazards was a recent phenomenon,

tradition, Innocent also made it clear that unlike his immediate predecessors, he intended not only to call a crusade but to manage it through the agency of two papal legates, Cardinals Soffredo⁶ and Peter Capuano.⁷ It remained to be seen how successful he would be in achieving that goal.

To the archbishop of Narbonne⁸ and his suffragans,⁹ as well as the abbots, priors, and other prelates of churches, also to the counts, barons, and all the people residing in the province of Narbonne.¹⁰

Following the pitiable collapse of the territory of Jerusalem,¹¹ following the lamentable massacre of the Christian people,¹² following the deplorable invasion of that land on which the feet of Christ had stood and where God, our King, had deigned, before the beginning of time, to work out salvation in the midst of the Earth, following the ignominious alienation from our possession of the vivifying Cross,¹³ on which the Salvation of the world hung and effaced the handwriting of former death,¹⁴ the Apostolic See, alarmed over the ill fortune of

dating back only to the reign of Gregory VIII (1187): James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969), 154. During his pontificate, Innocent would significantly expand this opportunity for all Christians to share in the crusade's grace.

⁶ Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Vienna, 1984), 73-76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 117-124. Werner Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus: Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologie (+1214)* (Vienna, 1988). A revised Italian version has been published as *Pietro Capuano: Patrizio amalfitano, Cardinale, Legato alla Quarta Crociata, Teologo (+1214)* (Amalfi, 1997).

⁸ Berengar II (r. 1190-1210).

⁹ Subordinate bishops.

¹⁰ A slightly different version of this letter, which was received by the archbishop of York, appears in Roger of Hoveden's *Chronicle*: Roger de Hoveden, *Chronica*, edited in four volumes by William Stubbs in volume 51 of *Rer. Brit. M. A. script.* (London, 1868-1871), 4:70-75. Whereas papal scribes consistently omitted formal salutations in the official registers, Roger preserved it for this letter. Here we read: "Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, the archbishop of York and his suffragans, and his beloved sons, the abbots, priors, and other prelates of churches, [and] to the counts and barons and all the people residing in the province of York, greetings and Apostolic benediction.

¹¹ Saladin's capture in 1187 of most of the Latin holdings in the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, which fell on 2 October.

¹² The destruction of a Latin army at Hattin on 4 July 1187.

¹³ The relic of the True Cross had been lost to Saladin's army at Hattin and was never recovered.

¹⁴ Cf. Col 2:14.

such calamity, grieved. It cried out and wailed to such a degree that due to incessant crying out, its throat was made hoarse, and from excessive weeping, its eyes almost failed. Indeed, it is true that, in the words of the prophet, had we forgotten Jerusalem our right hand would forget us;¹⁵ our tongue would stick to our palate, had we not remembered it.¹⁶ Still, the Apostolic See cries out, and like a trumpet it raises its voice, eager to arouse the Christian peoples to fight Christ's battle and to avenge the injury done to the Crucified One, employing the words of him who says, "O, all of you who pass along this way, behold and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow."¹⁷ For behold, our inheritance has been turned over to strangers, our houses have gone to foreigners.¹⁸ The ways of Zion¹⁹ mourn because there are none who come to the feast; her enemies have been placed in charge.²⁰ The Sepulcher of the Lord, which the prophet foretold would be so glorious,²¹ has been profaned by the impious and made inglorious. Our glory, regarding which the Apostle²² says, "I have no glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,"²³ is held in hostile hands, and Lord Jesus Christ Himself, who, by dying for us, took captive our captivity, as though taken captive by the impious, is driven into exile from His inheritance. In former days, when the ark of the Lord of Sabaoth resided in camp, Uriah refused to enter his house and even withheld himself from the licit embrace of his wife.²⁴ Now, however, our princes, with the glory of Israel having been transferred from its place to our disgrace,²⁵ give themselves over to adulterous embraces,²⁶ thereby abusing luxuries and wealth. And while

¹⁵ That is, it would forget its proper use.

¹⁶ Ps 136 (137):5-6.

¹⁷ Lam 1:12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5:2.

¹⁹ The hill outside the gates of Jerusalem, which stands as a symbol for the city and the entire Holy Land.

²⁰ Lam 1:4-5.

²¹ Apparently a reference to Is 11:10.

²² Saint Paul.

²³ Gal 6:14.

²⁴ 2 Sam 11:9-11.

²⁵ Cf. 1 Sam 4:21-22.

²⁶ A pointed reference to King Philip II of France, who had put aside his wife Ingeborg of Denmark in favor of Agnes-Maria of Meran.

they harass one another in turn with inexorable hatred, while one strives to take vengeance on the other in return for his injuries,²⁷ not one is moved by the injury done to the Crucified One. They pay no attention to the fact that our enemies now insult us, saying:

Where is your God, who can deliver neither Himself nor you from our hands? Behold! We now have profaned your holy places. Behold! we now have extended our hand to the objects of your desire, and in the initial assault we have violently overrun and hold, against your will, those places in which you pretend your superstition began. Already we have weakened and shattered the lances of the Gauls;²⁸ we have frustrated the efforts of the English;²⁹ we have now, for a second time, held in check the might of the Germans;³⁰ we have tamed the proud Spaniards.³¹ And although you took steps to rouse up all your powers against us, you have, thus far, scarcely made progress in any way. Where, then, is your God? Let Him now rise up and help you, and let Him protect you and Himself. The Germans, indeed, who presumed they would gain an unheard of triumph over us, sailed over to our land in a spirit of impetuosity. And although they had taken the single stronghold of Beirut,³² when no one was defending it,³³ except for the fact that fortuitous light had delivered them³⁴ (as well as your other lords), they would have woefully experienced

²⁷ A reference to the hostilities that Richard of England and Philip II of France were conducting against one another. Innocent considered it crucial to establish peace between these two monarchs in order to promote a successful crusade.

²⁸ The French. See note 35.

²⁹ Despite his tactical brilliance, King Richard I had been unable to recapture Jerusalem from Saladin.

³⁰ A reference to the dissolution of German crusading efforts to recover Jerusalem occasioned by the sudden deaths of Emperors Frederick I (1190) and Henry VI (1197). On the latter, see note 34.

³¹ A reference to the shocking Almohad victory over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos on 19 July 1195.

³² Led by the Henry of Brabant (see the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol to him below), the German crusade dispatched by Henry VI captured the coastal cities of Beirut and Sidon on 24 October 1197.

³³ Beirut fell after the Muslims had razed its walls and abandoned it as untenable.

³⁴ The unexpected death of Emperor Henry VI in Sicily on 28 September 1197 plunged the empire into a crisis and occasioned a premature breakup of the German crusade. See below.

our might against them, and their progeny would have bewailed in perpetuity their slaughter. And as for your kings and princes, whom we earlier drove out of the lands of the East, in order to conceal their timidity by a show of boldness, upon returning to their lurking-holes (we forbear saying "kingdoms"), they prefer to attack one another in turn rather than to experience once again our might and power.³⁵ What, therefore, remains, except that, after having cut down with an avenging sword those whom you abandoned when you ran away with the excuse that your lands needed looking after, we should launch an attack on your lands, for the purpose of effacing your name and memory?

How, therefore, brothers and sons, are we to rebut the insults of insulters? How can we answer them, inasmuch as we see them, for their part, adhering to the truth, judging by the clear evidence that has recently reached our hearing. For we received a letter from the lands across the sea to the effect that, when the Germans reached Acre by ship,³⁶ they seized the stronghold of Beirut, which was defended by no one. Meanwhile, the Saracens, attacking Jaffa across the way,³⁷ gained possession of it by storm and razed it to the ground, after they had killed many thousands of Christians.³⁸ On their part, the Germans, upon hearing rumors regarding the death of the emperor, embarked on returning ships at an unexpected time for passage.³⁹ Upon this happening, the Saracens, who had assembled a large army to oppose them, rage to such a degree against Christian lands that the Christians can nei-

³⁵ This seems to be a veiled reference Philip II of France, who left the Third Crusade following the capture of Acre in July 1191. His departure in the midst of the expedition had, at least in contemporary eyes, severely weakened the crusader forces and made it impossible to recapture Jerusalem. Upon returning home, King Philip proceeded to attack the French feudal holdings of Richard of England, who had remained in the Holy Land.

³⁶ The main element of the German fleet reached Acre, the major crusader port city in the Holy Land, on 22 September 1197.

³⁷ Innocent's sense of geography is faulty. Beirut lies along the Lebanese coast, whereas Jaffa, far to Beirut's south, is the port city nearest Jerusalem.

³⁸ Richard I had recaptured Jaffa from Saladin on 10 September 1191; Muslim forces retook Jaffa in 1197 but ceded it back to the Christians in 1204.

³⁹ Inasmuch as most of the German leaders had sailed by early March 1198, this somewhat ambiguous phrase probably means they took passage outside of the normal shipping season; it could also mean that they left prematurely before their crusade had finished its business.

ther leave their cities without peril nor remain within them without terror. Indeed, the sword threatens them outside and dread within.⁴⁰

Therefore, take up, O sons, the spirit of fortitude; receive the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation.⁴¹ Trust not in numbers or in might but rather in the power of God, who has no difficulty saving with many or with few, and according to your respective means, come to the aid of Him through whom you exist, live, and have being. Indeed, it was for you that He emptied Himself, accepting the form of a servant, was made in the form of a man and appeared in human likeness. He became obedient all the way to death—yes, the death of the Cross.⁴² And while He is poor, you enjoy abundance; while He is put to light, you are at rest, and you aid neither the Pauper nor the Exile! Who, then, at a time of such exigency would refuse obedience to Jesus Christ? When he should come to stand before His tribunal for judgment, what could he say to Him by way of defending himself? If God submitted to death for humanity, will a human hesitate to submit to death for God, inasmuch as the sufferings of the moment are not comparable to the future glory that shall be revealed in us?⁴³ Shall the servant also deny his Lord temporal riches when the Lord bestows on His servant eternal riches, which neither eye has seen nor ear heard, nor have they entered into the heart of man?⁴⁴ Therefore, let a man store up treasures in Heaven, where thieves neither break in nor steal, where neither rust nor worms corrupt.⁴⁵

Therefore, let all and each make themselves ready so that next March, each and every city by itself, likewise counts and barons, in accordance with their respective means, might send forth a certain⁴⁶ number of warriors at their own expen-

⁴⁰ Cf. Deut 32:25. Actually, King Aimeric II opened negotiations with the Muslim leader, al-'Adil Sayf-ad-Din (known in the West as Saphadin), as soon as the German crusaders set sail and concluded a five-and-a-half-year truce in the summer of 1198.

⁴¹ Eph 6:16-17.

⁴² Phil 2:7-8.

⁴³ Rom 8:18.

⁴⁴ Cf. 1 Cor 2:9.

⁴⁵ Mt 6:19-20.

⁴⁶ Innocent does not seem to be fixing any quotas here, despite his use of the adjective *certum*, which can mean "specified." He seems to be leaving numbers deliberately

se⁴⁷ for the defense of the land of the Lord's birth, and there they are to remain at least two years. For, although we have continuous solicitude for all churches on a daily basis, yet still, we count it as if special among our other cares that we very much desire with full zeal to aid the lands of the East. Otherwise, if it happens that help is delayed, the bruch⁴⁸ might devour what the locust has left,⁴⁹ and the latest state of affairs might be worse than earlier ones.

Indeed, so that we do not seem to impose on the shoulders of others onerous and unbearable burdens, while we, saying much and doing nothing or little, are unwilling to move them with our anger, and inasmuch as he who both does and teaches is to be called "great" in the kingdom of Heaven, following the example of Him, who undertook to do and teach, and so that we, who, albeit unworthy, function as His vicar on Earth, might set a good example for others, we have decided to aid the Holy Land both personally and through material aid. We have placed with our own hand the emblem of the Cross on our beloved sons Soffredo,⁵⁰ cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede, and Peter, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Vialata,⁵¹ men who are by all means fearers of God, well-known for their learning and honesty, able in both deed and word, whom we favor with a special affection among our other brothers. They are to humbly and devoutly precede the army of the Lord and are to be sustained not by begging for offerings but from our resources and those of our brothers.⁵² Through these men we are also arranging to send other suitable aid to that same land. Meanwhile, however, we are dispatching the aforesaid cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Vialata to the courts of our most beloved sons in Christ, the illustrious kings of France and England,⁵³ for the purpose of reestablishing peace or, at least, arranging a five-year truce

vague and simply demands numbers consonant with means. See, however, note 56.

⁴⁷ At the expense of the cities and the nobles.

⁴⁸ A wingless locust.

⁴⁹ Joel 1:4.

⁵⁰ Roger of Hoveden's copy mistakenly identifies him as Stephen: 4:71.

⁵¹ Peter Capuano.

⁵² Presumably the cardinal advisors of the papal curia, or court.

⁵³ Philip II (r. 1180-1223) and Richard I (r. 1189-1199).

and for the purpose of exhorting the people to the service of the Crucified One. On the other hand, we are sending the aforesaid cardinal priest of Santa Prassede to Venice in search of aid for the Holy Land.

Moreover, by the common advice of our brothers,⁵⁴ we have resolved and we strictly command and order you, brother archbishops and bishops and our beloved sons, the abbots, priors, and other prelates of churches,⁵⁵ to raise next March a certain number of warriors or, in place of this certain number of warriors, a fixed⁵⁶ sum of money (with consideration taken for each person's means), for the purpose of attacking the barbarous tribe of pagans and preserving the Lord's inheritance, which He procured with His own blood. Yet, should someone (a thing we cannot believe) presume to oppose such a pious and necessary ordinance, we decree that he is to be punished as a transgressor against the sacred canons, and we rule that he is to remain suspended from his office⁵⁷ until he gives due satisfaction.

Wherefore, trusting in the mercy of God and the authority of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, we do grant, from that power of binding and loosing that God conferred on us, even though we are unworthy, to all who shall undergo the rigors of this journey in person and at their own expense, full pardon for those sins of theirs for which they have done penance orally and in their hearts, and we promise them the bonus of eternal salvation as the reward of the just. To those, however, who shall not go there in person but who only at their own expense, according to their means and rank, send qualified men there, who are to stay at least two years, and likewise to those who, albeit at the expense of others, still complete in person the rigors of the pilgrimage, which they have undertaken, we grant full pardon for their sins. We also wish people who suitably attend to the relief of this land out of their goods to participate in this remission in relation to the size of their

⁵⁴ The cardinal bishops in the papal curia.

⁵⁵ Papal chancery protocol called for the pope's addressing consecrated archbishops and bishops as "brothers" and other persons as "sons" or "daughters."

⁵⁶ Here it seems more correct to translate *certam quantitatem* as "fixed sum" rather than "certain sum."

⁵⁷ From his clerical office. This sanction applied only to the clergy.

subsidy and especially in proportion to their depth of devotion. In addition, from the time when they have assumed the Cross,⁵⁸ we place their possessions under the care of Saint Peter and under our own protection – and they are also to stand under the protection of the archbishops and all the prelates of God's Church – ordering that until their death or return is ascertained with full certainty, their possessions remain untouched and stand undisturbed. But if anyone should dare contravene this, he is to be called to account by means of ecclesiastical censure, without appeal. If,⁵⁹ indeed, any of those setting out for that place are bound fast by oath to pay interest, you, brother archbishops and bishops, using the same means of coercion, with the obstacle of appeal set aside, are to force their creditors throughout your diocese to absolve them fully from the oath⁶⁰ and to desist from further usurious exaction. But if any creditor should force them to pay the interest, using a similar means of coercion, with the obstacle of appeal set aside, you are to compel him to make restitution of it. We order, indeed, Jews to be compelled by you, by our sons the princes, and by secular authority to make restitution of interest to them,⁶¹ and until they remit it to them, we order, under the sanction of excommunication, that every sort of interchange with them, in business as well as in other matters, be refused by all the faithful of Christ.

Let, therefore, no one withhold himself totally from this work, inasmuch as this was not instituted by us but by the apostles themselves who held collections among the gentiles in order to support brethren laboring in Jerusalem.⁶² We further do not wish you to lose hope in Divine Mercy, however much the Lord might be irritated by our sins; in fact, He might effect by your hand what He did not grant your forefathers, if (as

⁵⁸ Roger of Hoveden's copy contains the following additional phrase: "Moreover, so that all people might prepare more expeditiously and securely for the trip to the land of the Lord's birth": 4:74.

⁵⁹ Everything from this point to the end of this paragraph appears at the end of the next paragraph in the letter to the archbishop of York that Roger of Hoveden incorporated into his *Chronicle*: 4:75.

⁶⁰ To repay the loan with interest.

⁶¹ The indebted crusaders.

⁶² Acts 11:29; *ibid.* 24:17; Rom 15:25-28; 1 Cor 16:1-2; Gal 2:8-10.

you ought) you undertake the pilgrimage journey with humility of heart and body. For, perhaps, these forefathers had agreed among themselves and said, "Our own noble hand, and not God, has effected all of this, and they had claimed the glory of victory for themselves and not for God. For we trust that He will not withhold His mercies out of anger. He who, when angered, does not forget to show mercy but admonishes and exhorts us: "Turn to Me and I will turn to you."⁶³ We also believe that if you walk in the Law of the Lord and do not follow in the footsteps of those who have become worthless after pursuing that which is worthless,⁶⁴ who devoted themselves to the sensuous pleasures of gluttony and drunkenness and did those things in the regions across the sea that they would not have dared do in the lands of their birth without incurring tremendous infamy and considerable disgrace, but, rather, if you place your hope in Him alone, who does not forsake those who hope in Him, and abstain not only from those things that are illicit but even from certain licit actions. He, who cast down the chariot and army of Pharaoh into the sea, will weaken the bow of the mighty and will sweep away the enemies of the Cross from before your eyes, as though they were the filth of the streets. He will give glory not to us or to you but to His Name. He who is glorious in His saints, wondrous in His majesty, a worker of miracles, and, in the wake of weeping and wailing, the giver of joy and exultation!

Furthermore, so that these commands might be carried out more expeditiously and more perfectly, we have thought it proper to depute you, our brother archbishop and brother bishops of Nimes⁶⁵ and Orange,⁶⁶ to preach the Word of the Lord to others and, for the purpose of satisfying this Apostolic mandate, to so motivate your cobishops and the others who have been invited to the Lord's cause that you might be participants in this remission, and your devotion might shine forth more fully in this endeavor. In order to promote this in an

⁶³ Zech 1:3.

⁶⁴ Jer 2:5.

⁶⁵ William of Uzesz (r. 1183-1210).

⁶⁶ Arnulf (r. 1182-1200).

even more praiseworthy fashion, you are to associate yourselves with one of the brothers of the Military Order of the Temple,⁶⁷ as well as a second brother of the Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem,⁶⁸ men of character and prudence.

Issued at Rieti on the seventeenth day before the Kalends⁶⁹ of September.

A letter of the same sort was written to the archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, as well as to the abbots, priors, and other prelates of the churches, also to the counts and barons and all the people residing in each province.

In the same fashion, letters were sent to everyone in the kingdoms of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily.

Reg. 1:398

5 November 1198

Composed while the Fourth Crusade was still a vaguely formed notion, this letter introduces us to Fulk of Neuilly, one of the most dynamic popular preachers of the early thirteenth century, and a major voice for moral reform and crusade in the region of northern France. Fulk's role preaching the Fourth Crusade has been carefully studied by a number of historians,⁷⁰ and those details need not concern us here. What is worth our attention is the way in which this early letter links evangelical preaching, moral reformation, and the crusade—a linkage that, to the pope's mind, was natural and self-evident. If we fail to understand this, we fail to perceive the place that crusading had in Innocent III's overall program for Christendom. As the crusade encyclical of 15 August 1198 had made clear, the crusade was an opportunity for salvation offered by a merciful God, but God's people had to be worthy of that gift.

⁶⁷ The Military Order of the Temple of Solomon, or the Knights Templar.

⁶⁸ The Military Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, or the Knights Hospitaller.

⁶⁹ The first day of the month in the Roman calendar.

⁷⁰ Milton R. Gutsch, "A Twelfth-Century Preacher—Fulk of Neuilly," *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, Louis John Paetow, ed. (New York, 1928), 183-206; John M. O'Brien, "Fulk of Neuilly," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 13 (1969): 109-148; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1970), 1:36-38; Cole, *Preaching Crusades*, 87-92. See also the chronicles of Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines below.

Additionally, this letter hints at the significant role that Cistercian monks would play in the upcoming crusade.⁷¹

To Brother Fulk:

Having heard, a long time ago, a salubrious sample of your doctrine,⁷² we were made most happy in the Lord, imploring His mercy to strengthen the good work that He had initiated through you. Moreover, so that you, who are, according to the Apostle, engaged in evangelical work,⁷³ might more fruitfully execute the office of preaching, especially for the relief of the province of Jerusalem, which we strive toward with all our might, and so that you might bring back multiplied the talent given you by the Lord,⁷⁴ distributing it for the instruction of His people, we follow the example of Him who, indeed, commissioned certain apostles, certain prophets, and, yes, other evangelists so that the sound of their voices might go out into the entire world and their words to the ends of the Earth.⁷⁵ We grant to you, by Apostolic authority, full power, with the advice and assent of our beloved son Peter, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Vialata and legate of the Apostolic See, whom we have specially appointed to the execution of this office,⁷⁶ to freely attach to yourself as assistants monks, black as well as white,⁷⁷ or several canons regular,⁷⁸ whom you have judged capable of preaching, and let no one contest this or any appeal

⁷¹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276," *Traditio* 14 (1958): 64-78; A. J. Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade," *Cîteaux* 36 (1985): 21-37; idem, "Cistercian Accounts of the Fourth Crusade: Were They Anti-Venetian?" *Analecta Cisterciensia* 43 (1987): 3-41; idem, "The *Historia Constantinopolitana*: An Early Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Looks at Byzantium," *ibid.* 36 (1980): 269-302; idem, *Capture*, *passim*. See also the chronicles of Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines below.

⁷² Apparently Innocent heard Fulk preach in Paris while the pope-to-be studied theology there.

⁷³ 2 Tim 4:5.

⁷⁴ Mt 25:14-30.

⁷⁵ Rom 10:18.

⁷⁶ Reg. 1:336.

⁷⁷ Black-robed Benedictine monks and white-robed Cistercians.

⁷⁸ Communities of religious who were bound by quasi-monastic rules and vows but performed clerical functions in the world. One such order of canons regular was the Premonstratensians, who are mentioned in Reg. 2:258.

stand in the way. According to the words of the prophet, they, along with you, should sow upon the waters, lest the harvest be lost to the people.⁷⁹

Issued at the Lateran,⁸⁰ on the Nones⁸¹ of November.

Reg. 1:536 (539)
3 December 1198

As the crusade encyclical of August 1198 indicates, the pope was so interested in engaging Venetian aid for the Holy Land that he dispatched Cardinal Soffredo to Venice. This probably should not be interpreted, however, as evidence that he envisioned assigning the Venetians a unique role in the upcoming crusade. Just about the same time that Soffredo was sent to Venice, another papal delegation was sent to make peace between Venice's two major maritime rivals, Pisa and Genoa. According to the *Gesta Innocentii III.*:

He [Innocent] sent the aforementioned Soffredo, a cardinal priest, to the doge⁸² and people of Venice; due to his exhortations, that very doge and many from the general population assumed the sign of the Cross. Also the marquis of Montferrat,⁸³ the bishop of Cremona,⁸⁴ the abbot of Lucedio⁸⁵ and many other nobles from the province of Lombardy, along with an innumerable multitude of people,

⁷⁹ Cf. Is 32:20.

⁸⁰ The Lateran palace was the pope's primary residence in Rome and the center of papal government until the fourteenth century.

⁸¹ The ninth day before the Ides of a month. Regarding the Ides, see note 292.

⁸² Enrico Dandolo (r. 1192-1205): Thomas F. Madden, "Enrico Dandolo: His Life, His Family, and His Venice before the Fourth Crusade" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1993).

⁸³ Boniface of Montferrat (ca. 1150-1207), titular leader of the Fourth Crusade: *FC*², 21, 25-27, and passim; Jean Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin: Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva, 1978), 227-234.

⁸⁴ Sicard, bishop of Cremona (r. 1185-1215), canonist, historian, liturgist, and diplomat. Bishop Sicard left for the East in 1202 and returned in 1205 but did not travel with the army from Venice.

⁸⁵ Peter, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Lucedio since 1184 and future Latin patriarch of Antioch: John C. Moore, "Peter of Lucedio (Cistercian Patriarch of Antioch) and Innocent III," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987): 221-249; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 235.

pledged themselves to the service of Him Crucified. So that this might be more fully and freely realized, he dispatched to Pisa and Genoa two other cardinals, namely Peter, priest of the church of Santa Caecilia,⁸⁶ and Gratian, deacon of Santi Cosma e Damiano,⁸⁷ in order to reestablish a peace treaty between the Pisans and the Genoese for the relief of the Holy Land. But because they were not sons of peace, in no way did they accept the word of peace. Accordingly, he granted a general indulgence to all crusaders for the remission of their sins and placed them, along with all their possessions, under Apostolic protection.⁸⁸

In typical fashion, the author of the *Gesta* has telescoped events, thereby presenting a confusing chronological pastiche. This unsuccessful legation to Pisa and Genoa probably took place in the latter half of 1198, whereas Marquis Boniface of Montferrat formally took the Cross at Soissons in late summer 1201 only after the crusade's nobles offered him its leadership.⁸⁹ Abbot Peter of Lucedio swore the Cross at Cîteaux in September 1201,⁹⁰ and the doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, solemnly accepted the Cross in September 1202.⁹¹ Notwithstanding the chronological confusion, this account makes it quite clear that, as his crusade bull indicated, as early as 1198, the pope intended to engage all of Western Christendom in his crusade, and that included all of Italy's major naval powers. It is in that light that we should view Reg. 1:536 (539) of 3 December 1198.

The license granted in this letter seems to be grudging, at best, and it is possible to read in the tone of the letter a barely veiled distrust of the Venetians and their mercantile interests. Regardless, the pope does seem to be willing to meet the Venetians at least half way in order to enlist their help in bringing relief to the crusader states.

⁸⁶ Maleczek, *Kardinalskolleg*, 85-86.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 71-73.

⁸⁸ Gress-Wright, 67-68; PL 214:xc-xci.

⁸⁹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, Edmond Faral, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1938-1939), 1:38-44, secs. 37-44

⁹⁰ Andrea, *Capture*, 21-22.

⁹¹ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:66-68, sec. 65.

To the doge and people of Venice:

In support of the Eastern province,⁹² as well as for the forgiveness of sins, which we promise to those who travel there at their own expense, and in the name of the grace of the Apostolic protection that we grant those who aid that land, we have taken care to renew that canon of the Lateran Council⁹³ that cuts off from communion with the Church those who might presume to furnish the Saracens with weapons, iron, or galley timbers and those who exercise the responsibility and duties of ship's master in their galleys and pirate ships, and that judges them subject to excommunication for their iniquity and liable for punishment by being deprived of their goods by secular Catholic princes and city consuls and, should they⁹⁴ be captured, by being made the slaves of their captors. Also, following the example of Pope Gregory of happy memory, our predecessor,⁹⁵ we have placed under sentence of excommunication all those who shall hereafter have any dealings with them,⁹⁶ either personally or through others, or attempt to transport them anywhere by ship or by another means or give them some resources from their own goods, as long as the war between us and them lasts.

But recently our beloved sons, the noble men Andreas Donato and Benedict Grilloni, your ambassadors, came to the Apostolic See and took pains to explain to us that because of this decree a loss of no small size has accrued to your city—a city that does not engage in agriculture but, rather, is involved in shipping and commerce. We, consequently, moved by the paternal love that we have especially for you, prohibit you, under threat of anathema, to presume to aid the Saracens by selling, giving, or exchanging with them iron, wax, pine pitch, sharp instruments, iron instruments,⁹⁷ rope, weapons, galleys, ships, and timbers, whether finished or rough. But for the time being (until, of course, we order you to do otherwise), we permit you, when necessary, to cross over into the kingdom of

⁹² The Holy Land.

⁹³ Canon 24 of III Lateran of 1179.

⁹⁴ Christians who violate this ban.

⁹⁵ Pope Gregory VIII (r. 1187).

⁹⁶ Saracens.

⁹⁷ *Pyronibus*.

Egypt⁹⁸ or Babylon⁹⁹ carrying other articles of merchandise. We hope that because of this favor you will be more zealously motivated to help the province of Jerusalem, taking care lest you try something that fraudulently contravenes the Apostolic decision. For there is no doubt that he who, contrary to his own conscience, fraudulently tries in any way to make sport of this order will be bound fast with a divine sentence [of condemnation].

Dated as above.¹⁰⁰

Reg. 2:258 (270)
31 December 1199

March 1199 came and went with no sign of a positive response to Innocent's call for a crusade from the nobles of the West, who would be needed, as always, to provide military leadership. To be sure, the continuing war between the monarchs of France and England engaged the attention of too many potential crusade leaders,¹⁰¹ but this was probably not the only reason for the lukewarm response from Europe's nobles and, indeed, members of all social levels. In the waning days of December 1199, a concerned pope sent a new crusading encyclical throughout Western Christendom in which he modified the terms of enlistment and also tried to set into place a systematic means of raising funds to subsidize the crusade. He probably had concluded that the years of overseas service required of the crusader, as well as the heavy, often crushing financial burden that accompanied this service, dissuaded many of all ranks from swearing the Cross. Whereas Innocent's crusade bull of August 1198 had mandated a period of crusading of "at least two years," now the pope offered the same crusade indulgence and privileges to those who campaigned "a year or longer." Even more significant, Innocent instituted a one-time tax of one-fortieth on the annual ecclesiastical revenues of most clerics and separately in-

⁹⁸ The Ayyubid sultanate of Egypt.

⁹⁹ This meant Cairo in thirteenth-century Western usage.

¹⁰⁰ The previous letter was issued at the Lateran on 3 December 1198.

¹⁰¹ See Reg. 2:180 (189) of late September/early October 1199 to the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishop of Lydda, and the masters of the Hospital and of the Temple in Jerusalem, in which Innocent notes how wars and disputes among Christians were delaying the crusade: *Register Innocenz III*. 2:345-346.

structed such normally tax- and tithe-exempt orders as the Cistercians to contribute at least a fifth of their income.¹⁰² Although regional and even kingdom-wide crusade taxes had occasionally been levied in the past, Innocent's tax was the first attempt by the papacy to impose a church-wide crusade tax on all clerics. To allay fears, the pope promised that this tax would not be considered a precedent, but it became one. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council saw fit to impose a three-year-long tax of a tenth on the pope and all cardinals and a twentieth on all other clerics to finance a new crusade in the East. What is more, Innocent's papal successors increasingly found such income-tax impositions handy means for raising revenue for all manner of expenditures.

This first attempt at a universal clerical tax seems to have largely failed. Records do not exist that allow us to see how much was collected and when, but apparently returns were slow and disappointing.¹⁰³ What is more, most of what was raised seems to have been sent directly to the Holy Land,¹⁰⁴ despite the provision that local prelates, working closely with members of the two major military orders and other discreet clerics and laity, were to offer stipends from this money to indigent warriors who desired to aid the Holy Land.¹⁰⁵

Regardless of the money raised and the spiritual incentives offered by the pope to those who underwrote individual crusaders, most crusaders would still have to pay their own expenses to the

¹⁰² Reg. 2:257 (268, 269) of 28 December 1199 and 5 January 1200 to the Cistercian and the Premonstratensian abbots: *ibid.*, 488-490. Brown, "Cistercians," 69-72, traces the bitter dispute that followed between Innocent and the Order of Cîteaux over this donation.

¹⁰³ *FC*², 52.

¹⁰⁴ In his letter of September/October 1199 to the patriarch of Jerusalem and others (note 101), the pope reported that he had constructed and outfitted at his own expense a ship bearing grain for the poor of the Holy Land that had been paid for by the alms of the faithful. If we can believe the account of the *Gesta Innocentii III.*, the construction and outfitting of the ship alone cost the pope 300,000 pounds of silver: Gress-Wright, 67; PL 214:xc. Due to a storm at sea that delayed transit, the three clerics in charge of the food-bearing ship sold the grain at a good price in Messina, Sicily and used that money, along with other resources in their care, to aid the Holy Land. One-third of the funds were apportioned to the rebuilding of the earthquake-devastated walls of Tyre; one-third went to the needs of the poor; and one-third provided subsidies for warriors: *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Here I disagree with Queller and Madden, *FC*², 52, who maintain that these stipends were to come only from the money raised from the alms offered by the laity and placed in each church's locked box.

lands beyond the sea. This grim fact of life would plague the Fourth Crusade.

To the archbishop of Magdeburg and his suffragans,¹⁰⁶ and to the abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, and all clerics, subordinates as well as prelates, residing in the province of Magdeburg:¹⁰⁷

Our sins now demand that we are compelled to weep over the sad miseries and urgent needs of the Eastern land, rather than to recount them, inasmuch as this very land has reached that state (if, indeed, the situation that we speak of in our grief can be called a "state") with the result that, unless aid for its crisis arrives rather quickly and the efforts of the pagans are opposed, we believe the few Christians who have devoted themselves to defending the Lord's heritage and serving the Crucified One will make drunk the arrows of their enemies by the pouring out of their blood and will make welcome the swords of the pagans with their throats. The remnants of the desolation of that land will be lost without hope of human help and occupied by the enemy, since almost all the pilgrims have already returned from those regions. Moreover, thus far Lord Jesus Christ has mercifully prevented this, so that He might up to now more vigorously test our faith and might more fully learn who are His. He has turned their¹⁰⁸ hands against themselves and permitted them in their many different disputes among themselves to rage against one another, so that, with Christians roused in the interim to aid that land, the means might more easily be furnished to recover what was lost and to triumph over the enemy.

We have, in fact, received the letters of our venerable brothers, the patriarchs of Antioch¹⁰⁹ and Jerusalem,¹¹⁰ also of the

¹⁰⁶ Such as the bishop of Halberstadt. See the *GeH*.

¹⁰⁷ There exist four other copies to three different recipients: to the archbishop of Ragusa (Dubrovnik); to the archbishop of Canterbury (in two copies, one of which is in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicle*); and a copy dated 27 December presumably to the archbishop of York in Roger of Hoveden's *Chronicle*, 4:108-112. For an overview of the manuscripts, see *Register Innocenz III.*, 2:491.

¹⁰⁸ The Muslims.

¹⁰⁹ Peter of Angoulême, Latin patriarch of Antioch (r. 1196-1208).

¹¹⁰ Aymar the Monk, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (r. 1194-1202/1203).

archbishops and bishops of each province, and likewise of our most beloved sons in Christ, A[imeric]¹¹¹ and L[eo],¹¹² illustrious kings of Jerusalem and Armenia, and of our beloved sons, the masters of the Jerusalem Hospital and of the knighthood of the Temple, and of many others. They quite fully laid out the miseries and needs of this land and requested the aid that had been expected for so long, since they who are there hope that, God granting it, due to discord among the Saracens, a few will achieve more this time than previously a huge army accomplished. They also added that, inasmuch as there are currently peace negotiations among the Saracens, if harmony should be reestablished among them¹¹³ before relief arrives in the province of Jerusalem, there will be no one among them who can restrain their violence (unless God alone stops it!), since the province is nearly totally depleted of men and resources.

Consequently, we discussed the relief of this land with our brothers, also with bishops from abroad and with other men of religion residing at the Apostolic See. Lest we seem to impose on the shoulders of subordinates onerous burdens that we, saying much but doing little or nothing, are unwilling to move with even a finger, and so that an example of doing good might be spread from us to you and from you to the laity, after the example of Him who undertook to do and teach, we have taken care to assign a tenth part of all our rents and revenues for the relief of the Eastern province without putting aside a modicum for our needs, for which our resources are not sufficient because our needs are heavier than usual and for this reason require heavier expenditures so that, even if we dispense nothing of our own, we at least return a modicum from His [goods] to Him who, in His mercy, gave us everything. And so that we might send needed aid to the Holy Land not only in the form of resources but even, indeed, in the form of people, we have decided to send there our beloved sons, S[offredo], priest of the church of Santa Prassede, and P[eter], deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata, cardinals on

¹¹¹ Aimeric II (r. 1197-1205).

¹¹² Leo II the Great (r. 1198-1219).

¹¹³ If the Saracens should cease warring among themselves.

whom we have already long ago placed the emblem of the Cross. They will precede the army of the Lord, acting as our deputies, and all may have recourse to them as to one head.

As it is, because we think this is modest—in fact, too modest to satisfy in any way this province's large number of needs—we command all of you through this Apostolic letter, and on behalf of God Almighty, in the power of the Holy Spirit, and under threat of divine judgment, we strictly order that each one of you convert to the relief of the Holy Land at least a fortieth part of all his ecclesiastical rents and revenues, after—first, however, deducting interest charges whose payment cannot be avoided.¹¹⁴ Trusting in the mercy of God Almighty and in the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, we do forgive one-fourth of [any] penance imposed on them for all clerics, both subordinates and prelates, who willingly and faithfully pay that fortieth—provided that no fraud occurs and pious devotion is upheld. Moreover, know that he is culpably obdurate and obdurately culpable who shall refuse to pay to his Creator and Redeemer, from whom he has received body and soul and all the goods that he possesses, such a trifling subsidy in such an emergency. And we who, unworthy as we are, serve as His vicar on Earth can in no way overlook the obduracy of such an offense. You should not by any means believe that we intend by this to impose, at your expense, a law on you so that a fortieth might be exacted from you in the future as due and customary. On the contrary, we want nothing generated from this that will be a prejudicial precedent for you—we who grieve that a moment of such pressing need has come upon us and you and who hope that a similar situation will not happen in the future. We also wish and, moreover, command you by way of instruction that you, brother archbishops and bishops, take care to convene without delay in your metropolitan church¹¹⁵ or, if it is not possible to do this there due to discord or any other clear impediment, in two or three places in the province of Magdeburg, and to discuss among yourselves, according to the model of the Apostolic mandate, the issue of aid for that land. After his return, each

¹¹⁴ In other words, if you can avoid paying this uncanonical and sinful usury, do so.

¹¹⁵ The archbishop's cathedral church.

of you, without delay, shall convoke a synod in his own diocese, ordering, by our authority, abbots and priors, both those who are exempt¹¹⁶ as well as the others, archdeacons and deans and, by all means, all clerics residing in his diocese to assess with fair evaluation their revenues and rents, and within three months after notification was made to deliver without delay a fortieth part of their value to a suitable place in that same diocese, under the witness of the bishop himself and of several men of religion, with, moreover, some faithful and discreet laymen added as a precaution. And we command this of you, brother archbishops and bishops, under that same stricture. From this general order we except the Cistercian monks, the Praemonstratensian canons, the hermits of Grandmont, and the Carthusians, on whom we have enjoined a special mandate regarding this matter.¹¹⁷ We, furthermore, do not wish that those who have taken care to estimate their rents and revenues scrupulously should be held liable for transgressing against the aforesaid injunction, if they have, perhaps, withheld something from the fortieth not with full knowledge but rather through ignorance, provided that, once they have realized their error (that they paid too little), they make it up in full. If, however, someone (may it not be so!) with full knowledge should withhold anything from the fortieth that is to be so paid, when he provides due satisfaction, he shall be totally free of the debt owed for that transgression. No one should be amazed or even be disturbed by the fact that we order this under such an injunction, inasmuch as extreme necessity demands it. For even though obedience to divine service ought to be voluntary, nevertheless, we read in the Gospel that those invited to the Lord's wedding feast should be compelled to enter.¹¹⁸

We further command you, brother archbishops and bishops, to see to it that this fortieth, immediately levied and faithfully collected throughout your dioceses according to the aforementioned formula, is deposited in a safe place. As

¹¹⁶ From episcopal supervision.

¹¹⁷ Reg. 2:257 (268,269), the letters of 28 December 1199 and 5 January 1200 to the abbots of Cîteaux and Premontr : *Register Innocenz III.*, 2:488-490.

¹¹⁸ Lk 14:23.

quickly as it can be done, you are to report to us the total amount through your letters and special envoys. For this we order an empty chest, locked by three keys, to be placed in each church: the first key to be kept with the bishop; the second to be kept with the priest of the church; the third to be kept by some religious layman. Into that chest all members of the faithful without exception may be instructed to deposit their alms for the remission of their sins, in accordance with what the Lord might inspire in their minds. In all churches mass shall be publicly celebrated once a week for the remission of sins, and especially of those making offerings.

Moreover, we grant you, brother archbishops and bishops, that regarding those who might wish to aid the Holy Land from their goods, you may commute the service of imposed penance into the service of giving alms, upon the advice of discreet men and when the quality of the persons and the extent of their resources have been weighed and also the state of their devotion has been considered.

Beyond that, we wish that, having joined to yourselves (when they can be found) two brothers, one of the Hospital of Jerusalem and the other of the knighthood of the Temple, and other religious and discreet laity, you dispense suitable stipends from those funds to knights or other warriors who have assumed the emblem of the Cross, if they have not been able to make the voyage across the sea out of their resources, once you have received from them an adequate pledge that they will remain defending the Eastern land for a year or longer, depending on the size of the subsidy. If (may it not be so!) they should withdraw along the way, they should not convert the subsidy they received to other uses, but rather they should return it as stipends for [other] warriors. Also when they return, they should not be released from their sworn oath before they have shown you a letter from the king or the patriarch, or from the master of the Jerusalem Hospital or of the knighthood of the Temple, or even from our legate that testifies as to their stay.

Because, indeed, the highest necessity demands and the common good requires that the Christian people, not only with resources but also in person, should hasten without delay to aid in the relief of the Holy Land against the pagans, we

command though this Apostolic letter, by way of informing Your Fraternity, that you press forward prudently and diligently to exhort and persuade the faithful, by yourselves and through other qualified men, so that those who are capable of fighting the Lord's war assume the emblem of the Cross in the Name of the Lord of Sabaoth. Others, indeed, should dispense pious alms in proportion to their available means. Truly trusting in the mercy of God and in the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing that God conferred on us, unworthy as we are, we grant to all who personally and at their own expense undergo the labor of this journey full pardon of those sins of theirs for which they do penance in their hearts and with their mouths, and we promise the profit of eternal salvation as the payment of the righteous. We grant, moreover, full pardon of their sins to those who do not go there in person but, in proportion to their resources and rank, send at their own expense qualified men, who will remain there for at least one year, and likewise to those who, although at someone else's expense, personally complete the labor of the pilgrimage they took upon themselves. We also want all who will provide suitable aid for this land out of their own resources to be sharers of this forgiveness, in proportion to the amount of their subsidy and the intensity of their devotion.

Additionally, we receive under the protection of Saint Peter and ourself, from the time when they take the Cross, the persons and possessions of these people. Let them also stand under the protection of the archbishops and all of the prelates of God's Church. We decree that until it is known for certain that they either died or returned, they are to remain unmolested and continue to be undisturbed. If anyone should dare to act contrary to this, he is to be called to account by means of ecclesiastical censure, with the right of appeal suspended. If, indeed, any of those setting out for that place are held bound by oath to pay interest, you, brother archbishops and bishops, using the same means of coercion, with the obstacle of appeal set aside, are to force their creditors throughout your diocese to absolve

them¹¹⁹ fully from the oath and to desist from further usurious exaction. But if any creditor should force them to pay the interest, using a similar means of coercion, with the obstacle of appeal set aside, you are to compel him to make restitution of it. We order, indeed, Jews to be compelled by the secular power to make restitution of interest to them,¹²⁰ and until they remit it, we order, under the sanction of excommunication, that every sort of interchange with them, in business as well as in other matters, be refused by all the faithful of Christ.

Moreover, we will and command you, brother archbishops and bishops, to be the executors of these matters, each in his own diocese. You are to execute them so diligently and faithfully that in the strict examination of the Last Judgment, when you stand before the tribunal of Christ, you may be able to render a satisfactory account.

Issued at the Lateran on the day before the Kalends of January.

A letter of the same sort was sent throughout all of Germany.

A letter of the same sort was sent throughout Tuscany.

A letter of the same sort was sent throughout Lombardy.

A letter of the same sort was sent throughout the kingdom of France, throughout the kingdom of England, throughout the kingdom of Hungary.

A letter of the same sort was sent throughout Sclavonia, throughout Ireland, throughout the kingdom of Scotland.

Reg. 5:121 (122)

16 November 1202

Eventually Innocent's crusade took shape through an alliance of French and Lombard nobles on the one side and the Venetians on the other.¹²¹ Long before the crusade's main force set sail in October 1202, however, a young Byzantine prince named Alexius Angelus reached the West in late 1201,¹²² seeking help against his uncle,

¹¹⁹ The debtors.

¹²⁰ The indebted crusaders.

¹²¹ *FC*², 3-33.

¹²² *FC*², 35, places Prince Alexius's arrival in Germany at late September or October 1201. Charles Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West: 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 275-276, argues that Alexius did not see to the West much before late September

Emperor Alexius III (r. 1195-1203), who had unseated, blinded, and incarcerated his brother and Prince Alexius father, Emperor Isaac II (r. 1185-1195 and 1203). The story of Alexius the Younger's travels in the West is oft-told and need not be repeated here.¹²³ Suffice it to say that Alexius the Younger not only sought the help of his brother-in-law, Philip of Hohenstaufen, claimant to the crown of Germany, but also, by virtue of King Philip's relationship with Boniface of Montferrat, Alexius importuned certain crusade leaders for assistance in regaining his lost patrimony.

Added to this was a long and, from the papal perspective, quite frustrating history of negotiations between Alexius III and Innocent III. Between spring 1198 and spring/summer 1202, eight missions and twelve letters¹²⁴ passed between the Byzantine imperial court and the papal curia. On his part the emperor vainly sought to reach a purely political understanding regarding a united front against Philip of Hohenstaufen. Innocent, with equal frustration, vainly attempted to enlist Byzantine help for the upcoming crusade and

1201. Clearly Alexius was at Philip of Swabia's Christmas court at Hagenau in December 1201, where he met Boniface of Montferrat: *FC*², 33 and 35-37.

¹²³ *FC*², 33-39.

¹²⁴ Nine of the letters are extant. Alexius III's letters of 1198, 1200, and 1201 are lost, but their contents can be reconstructed from the pope's detailed replies. A Latin translation of Alexius's letter of February 1199 appears as Reg. 2:201 (210): *Register Innocenz III.*, 2, 390-393; the patriarch of Constantinople's first of two letters to the pope (February 1199) appears in Latin translation as Reg. 2:199 (208): *ibid.*, 2:379-382. What is more, the two letters of Patriarch John X Camaterus exist in their original Greek and have been edited by Aristeides Papadakis and Alice Mary Talbot in "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence," *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972): 26-41. The patriarch's second letter, which was composed in the spring of 1200 but apparently never arrived at the papal curia, is especially important for the light it sheds on the depth of the ecclesiastical differences between Rome and Constantinople on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. Inasmuch as the Papadakis/Talbot edition has flaws, Jannis Spiteris reedited that crucial second letter and provided an Italian translation, as well as a learned analysis: *La Critica bizantina del primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1979), 324-331 and 248-299. All of Innocent's letters to Constantinople during this period are extant in either the papal registers or the *Gesta Innocentii III*. These are variously edited, *passim*, in: *Register Innocenz III.*, 1 and 2; Theodosius Haluščynskij, ed., *Acta Innocentii Papae III*, Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Series III, Vol. II (Vatican, 1944); Gress-Wright; and PL 214.

For a detailed survey of these negotiations, see Gerd Hagedorn, "Papst Innocenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198-1203)," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974): 3-20 and 105-136. For another view, see A. J. Andrea, "Pope Innocent III as Crusader and Canonist: His Relations with the Greeks of Constantinople, 1198-1216." (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1967), 100-188.

to secure the Greek Church's submission to papal authority.¹²⁵ To Innocent's mind both were preconditions for any political alliance. Early in the course of these diplomatic exchanges, the pope twice threatened to lay unspecified sanctions on the emperor, should Alexius III not conform his actions to papal wishes.¹²⁶ The threats were empty. When, by late 1200, it became evident that the emperor and his patriarch would not budge, the pope adopted a more resigned and conciliatory tone, noting in a fairly mild letter to the emperor that he had to push on with his duties, presumably his crusade duties, regardless of what Alexius might do.¹²⁷ Despite Alexius's unwillingness to meet papal demands, Innocent was not about to let anything get in the way of his promoting a successful crusade, and that included an emperor whom the pope had summed up by late 1200 as unwilling to do the right thing.

Even the flight of Prince Alexius Angelus to the West and his subsequent appearance at the papal court, probably in February 1202, where he failed to secure Innocent's approval of a plan to restore him and his father to power in Constantinople, could not shake the pope out of his conciliatory policy toward Emperor Alexius III.¹²⁸ Apparently the pope did not consider the Greek prince to be a credible bargaining token, and therefore he did not inform the emperor of his having met Alexius the Younger until the frightened emperor himself raised the issue of the fugitive prince in a now-lost letter that the pope received in the autumn of 1202.

On 16 November Innocent answered an obviously worried emperor who had written sometime in the summer asking the pope to

¹²⁵ E. g. Reg. 1:353; *Register Innocenz III.*, 1:525-528.

¹²⁶ Reg. 1:353 of August/September 1198; *ibid.*, 1:526-527; Reg. 2:202 (211) of 13 November 1199; *ibid.*, 2:397.

¹²⁷ The decretal *Solita* of late 1200 or very early 1201. Not found in the extant papal registers, it has been preserved in the *Gesta Innocentii III.* and in Gregory IX's *Decretals*. For the former, see: Gress-Wright, 103-109, and PL 214:cxxiii. For the latter, see *Decretal. Gregor. IX.*, Lib. I, Tit. XXXIII, "De majoritate et obedientia," c. 6. An annotated English translation of *Solita* as preserved in the *Decretals* appears in Alfred J. Andrea, ed. and trans., *The Medieval Record: Sources of Medieval History* (Boston, 1997), 318-322.

¹²⁸ Like *Solita* of late 1200/early 1201, Innocent's letter of late 1201/early 1202 in answer to Alexius III's demand for the return of Cyprus was surprisingly mild and contained no threats whatsoever. In a now-lost letter, the emperor had promised supplies for the upcoming crusade in return for Cyprus and threatened military action if it was not returned to the empire. In reply, the pope requested that the emperor not hinder the upcoming crusade: *Gesta Innocentii III.*: Gress-Wright, 109-111; PL 214:cxxiii-cxxv.

prohibit the crusaders from invading his empire as champions of the young Alexius.

To the illustrious emperor of Constantinople:

We courteously received in a fitting manner Your Imperial Dignity's letter and ambassadors, and we carefully considered those matters that these same ambassadors wished to propose, as well as those matters contained in that same letter. Inasmuch as your aforementioned ambassadors told us (and your letter contained it as well) that, since the army of Christians which is about to come to the aid of the Holy Land proposed to invade the land of Your Magnitude and to use weapons against Christians, it was appropriate to our office that we call them back from such a plan, lest, perchance, befouling their hands with the slaughter of Christians, they then commit an offense before God and become so greatly weakened that they are unable to attack in any way the enemies of Christ. Additionally, they added on behalf of Your Majesty that in no way should we show favor to Alexius, son of Isaac Angelus, the former emperor, who approached Philip, duke of Swabia,¹²⁹ in order to gain with his help the imperial throne at your expense, because the imperial throne should not pass to him for any reason, inasmuch as it is conferred not through succession but through election by the nobles, unless, perhaps, one was born after the peak of the imperial dignity had been attained. In any case, this very same Alexius could not claim that because he was born prior to his father's promotion to the imperial throne. Because his father was then a private person, Alexius could not lay claim to any right to the imperial throne for himself. It was also proposed in our presence on behalf of Your Majesty that, inasmuch as Emperor Frederick¹³⁰ greatly offended the Roman Church and persecuted it with unjust enmity, and inasmuch as his sons,¹³¹ following in the father's footsteps, have aggravated it not a little, we should lend nei-

¹²⁹ Because Pope Innocent supported the cause of Otto of Brunswick in the struggle for the crown of Germany, Philip was only a duke in his eyes.

¹³⁰ The Hohenstaufen king of Germany and emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190), father of Philip of Swabia.

¹³¹ Emperor Henry VI (r. 1190-1197), as well as Philip.

ther aid nor favor to the aforementioned duke of Swabia that would enable him to gain the kingdom by some means or other. We ought to have been easily brought to that course of action because this same Philip was marked with a clerical imprint,¹³² and persons of this sort ought neither to cinch on nor be decorated with a military belt or obtain some other dignity in the public arena, since [as a consequence of that action] they would be enmeshed in the chains of excommunication.¹³³

We deemed it appropriate to respond to Your Imperial Prudence in the following manner. The aforesaid Alexius came into our presence quite a while ago.¹³⁴ In our presence and in that of our brethren, with many Roman nobles in attendance, he presented a serious complaint, alleging that you unjustly seized his father and basely had him blinded, and you imprisoned both of them, keeping them con ned for a long time. Because [as he asserted] he had no recourse to anyone superior to us, and because we were, according to the Apostle, debtors to both the wise and the foolish,¹³⁵ we were obliged to provide him justice. When we had given him an answer in accordance with what seemed to us to be appropriate, he departed from us and rushed quickly to the aforementioned Philip, his brother-in-law. After deliberating with him, he so contrived it that this same Philip, without any delay whatsoever, sent his messengers to the princes of the Christian army.¹³⁶ He¹³⁷ requested and petitioned them to forcibly enter the kingdom of Constantinople with him¹³⁸ and provide him the advice and support he needed to recover it, in light of the

¹³² Philip, who had earlier been marked out for a clerical career, became provost (chief administrator) of the cathedral of Aachen in 1189 and was elected bishop of Würzburg in 1190/1191, but was never consecrated to that office. In 1193 he reentered the secular state at the behest of his brother, Emperor Henry VI.

¹³³ By virtue of violating his clerical status. See *Decretum Gratiani*, C. 24, q. 1, c. 37.

¹³⁴ Probably late February 1202; Jaroslav Folda, "The Fourth Crusade, 1201-124: Some Reconsiderations," *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965): 285-286.

¹³⁵ Rom 1:14.

¹³⁶ *FC*², 64, dates this embassy as having been sent to Venice probably sometime in September. This is not to be confused with the embassy from King Philip that arrived in Zara on 1 January 1203.

¹³⁷ Philip.

¹³⁸ Prince Alexius.

fact that his father and he had been foully despoiled of their rights and the imperial throne. He¹³⁹ promised in the name of the same man¹⁴⁰ that he¹⁴¹ would repay them handsomely both with assistance in the Holy Land and with expense money and gifts. Moreover, he¹⁴² was prepared to obey all of our orders in every respect and throughout every situation; he was willing to honor the Most Holy Roman Church in every way that he could and to carry out those actions that might be pleasing to our will. But after the aforesaid princes had discussed it, they responded that inasmuch as they could not and should not proceed in such a complicated affair without our mandate and authority, they wished to consult us concerning these matters and then to await the pleasure of our will. They persuaded our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello,¹⁴³ who should have taken passage with them,¹⁴⁴ to inquire as to our will in our presence. Indeed, when the cardinal came to us, he was careful to report everything scrupulously. And when your envoys come into our presence, we will have [already] discussed these matters with our brothers and have made a decision that should deservedly please you even though many might assert that we should kindly show favor to an appeal of this sort made on behalf of him because the Greek Church is scarcely obedient and devoted to the Apostolic See.

Moreover, regarding the point that Your Highness wished to impress upon us, namely that when it comes to assisting that one¹⁴⁵ to obtain the Roman empire, the person should be someone who is bound to hold the Roman Church in esteem

¹³⁹ Philip.

¹⁴⁰ The manuscript clearly has *eidem* ("in the name of the same man, a somewhat awkward and rare dative of interest construction). That "same man" is obviously Alexius the Younger. Migne preferred to correct this to *eisdem*, which results in the more graceful, logical, and common "he promised the same people" (i.e. the crusade princes): PL, 214:1124. The editors of the new edition of Innocent's registers have opted for *eidem* but with some apparent ambivalence: *Register Innocenz III.*, 5:241, textual note k and explanatory note 14.

¹⁴¹ Alexius.

¹⁴² Alexius.

¹⁴³ Peter Capuano was promoted to the rank of cardinal priest in December 1200: Maleczek, *Pietro*, 100.

¹⁴⁴ See the commentary on Reg. 5:160 (161).

¹⁴⁵ Philip.

and obey our orders, you should be aware that, although the aforesaid Philip might be powerful and might have great resources, nevertheless up to now King Otto¹⁴⁶ has been brought to the fore, through the grace of God, by reason of our zeal and mediating diligence, with the result that this man has not yet been able to prevail against him. Your Imperial Excellency is not ignorant of how much you should have helped us in achieving that (although many promises were made to us). Undoubtedly your gratitude should be the greater to the degree that it is known that you do not merit its being taken care of. For if that same Philip had obtained the imperial throne, many troubles would have befallen you and your empire, inasmuch as he could have easily mounted an attack on your empire through the land of his nephew, our most beloved son in Christ, Frederick, illustrious king of Sicily,¹⁴⁷ just as Henry, his brother and former emperor, had planned to seize your empire by way of Sicily.¹⁴⁸ Even though, from the time of Manuel, your predecessor of honored memory,¹⁴⁹ the empire of Constantinople has not deserved such as we ought [otherwise] to have effected because it has always answered us and our predecessors with words and not backed them up with deeds, nevertheless, we have set a policy of proceeding in a spirit of mildness and gentleness, believing that, when you have considered the favor of how much we have done for you, you ought all the more quickly to correct what has thus far been less prudently neglected by you and your predecessors. For you ought most zealously to attend to this as human energy allows so that you might extinguish or feed the re¹⁵⁰ in distant regions lest it be able in some measure to reach all the way to your territories.

Consequently, we entreat, instruct, counsel, and exhort

¹⁴⁶ The rival claimant, Otto (IV) of Brunswick.

¹⁴⁷ Son of Henry VI, ward of Pope Innocent, and the future Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250).

¹⁴⁸ It was widely believed in both papal and Byzantine circles that Henry VI's crusade preparations in Sicily were camouflage for a planned conquest of Constantinople. His sudden death in Messina ended this perceived threat—at least momentarily.

¹⁴⁹ Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (r. 1143-1180), who had the reputation in the West of being Byzantium's last pro-Latin emperor.

¹⁵⁰ Presumably of German imperial threats to Byzantium.

Your Imperial Excellency, to the extent that you will have set it as a policy, that, as far as this matter is concerned, you take care to respond to us with deeds and not words because we have been careful to demonstrate the love that we have for you in action and result.

We have, however, arranged to send our ambassador on this matter. If, perchance, he should be late in arriving, nevertheless, you should not delay responding to us on this matter as you know how to expedite matters.

Issued at the Lateran on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of December.

Reg. 5:160 (161)
15-31 December? 1202

While the papal legate Soffredo headed directly to the Holy Land to prepare the way for the crusade,¹⁵¹ Cardinal Peter Capuano joined the assembling army at Venice on 22 July 1202. There he was informed by the Venetians that he could not travel with the army as an official legate but only as a chaplain. He also learned that the army's French leaders, unable to meet the army's full financial obligations to the Venetians, were considering accepting the Venetians' proposal to sail to the Dalmatian city of Zara in order to compel that Christian city to resubmit to Venetian overlordship. In return, the Venetians would grant a postponement of the debt. After counseling several German clerics that it would be better to accept this unavoidable evil rather than to invite the greater evil of breaking up the crusade,¹⁵² Cardinal Peter returned to Rome with news of the projected diversion. He also, as Reg. 5:121 (122) clearly indicates, brought back word of Alexius the Younger's recent overtures to the crusade leaders.

Innocent was disturbed by all of this news and dispatched a now-lost letter to the crusaders forbidding the attack on Zara under the sanction of automatic excommunication.¹⁵³ The letter failed to dis-

¹⁵¹ Maleczek, *Kardinalskolleg*, 74, states that by the end of May 1202, Soffredo was already underway to the Holy Land.

¹⁵² Abbot Martin of Pairis (Gunther of Pairis, *HC* in Orth, 123; Andrea, *Capture*, 78-79) and Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt (*GeH* below).

¹⁵³ A. J. Andrea and Ilona Motsiff, "Pope Innocent III and the Diversion of the Fourth Crusade Army to Zara," *Byzantinoslavica*, 33 (1972): 11-18.

suade the majority of the crusade's leaders, and Zara fell to combined Venetian and Frankish forces on 24 November 1202.

Convinced that their action merited papal forgiveness, due to the cruel circumstances that had driven them to Zara, the Frankish crusaders sought and received immediate absolution from the prelates traveling with the army and dispatched four envoys to Rome for papal confirmation that the ban of excommunication had, indeed, been legitimately lifted. The Venetians, who admitted no wrong-doing, refused to seek papal absolution.

Even before the delegation reached Rome, Innocent composed a stern letter to the crusade army probably in late December 1202 or early January 1203,¹⁵⁴ in which he condemned their actions at Zara and reminded them of his earlier prohibitions against such adventures and the attendant threatened sanctions. He also threatened a more severe form of excommunication—a formal, published ban of anathema—if they did not repent.¹⁵⁵

Due to the fact that a subsequent letter, Reg. 5:161 (162), repeats the entire lengthy passage of Reg. 5:160 (161) that details the crusader and Venetian misdeeds at Zara, it seems reasonable to infer that Reg. 5:160 (161) was never sent, having been superseded by the pope's next letter to the crusaders, which he sent to the army with its returning envoys.¹⁵⁶ Why 5:160 (161) was incorporated into the

¹⁵⁴ Reg. 5:160 (161): The editors of the register date it as probably composed at the Lateran between 15 and 31 December 1202: *Register Innocenz III.*, 5:315. Maleczek, *Petrus*, 269-272, also places it in the second half of December 1202. I have elsewhere dated the letter to probably January or early February 1203 (Andrea and Motsiff, *Zara*, note 67) but am comfortable with late December.

¹⁵⁵ Correctly pointed out by Othmar Hageneder, "Innozenz III. und die Eroberung Zadars (1202). Eine Neuinterpretation des Br. V 160 (161)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 100 (1992): 197-213. See also Maleczek, *Petrus*, 272-273, who makes the same distinction. No other reasonable interpretation can be given the two closing sentences of the letter:

Lest...you add sin to sin,...we command by Apostolic letter, and *under the threat of anathema* [italics added] we strictly order that you should neither destroy Zara more than it has been destroyed up to this point nor cause it to be destroyed (or permit it, insofar as it is in your power), but arrange to restore to the ambassadors of the same king [of Hungary] all that has been seized. Moreover, you should realize that *you [now] lie under the sentence of excommunication* [italics added] and cannot share in the grant of remission promised you.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph Gill, "Franks, Venetians, and Pope Innocent III, 1201-1203," *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970): 93, note 39, concludes that 5:160 (161) and 5:161 (162) were contemporaneous; 5:160 (161) was intended for the army as a whole, whereas 5:161 (162) was

registers is anyone's guess, but maybe the author of the *Gesta Innocentii III*. had the best answer. He chose to incorporate this letter, rather than its follow-up, into his work, apparently because, as he noted in his introduction to the letter, it "clearly shows the extent of his anger regarding the way they went about destroying Zara."¹⁵⁷ And, indeed, it does.

To the counts, barons, and all the crusaders without greeting: We sorrow not a little and we are disturbed that in those instances in which we have been accustomed to grant the grace of remission and to offer the promise of an increase in eternal recompense, now (and we do not say this without a good deal of grief) we are compelled to deny the consolation of our salutation and the protection of an Apostolic blessing. For behold, your gold has turned to base metal and your silver has almost completely rusted¹⁵⁸ since, departing from the purity of your plan and turning aside from the path onto the impassable road, you have, so to speak, withdrawn your hand from the plow and looked backward with Lot's wife.¹⁵⁹ For when, as you were seeing Egypt, you should have hastened to the land flowing with honey and milk, you turned away, going astray in the direction of the desert. There you recalled to mind how in Egypt you sat amidst the deserts, and you hungered not only for garlic and melons,¹⁶⁰ but you thirsted after the blood of your brothers. We are mindful, indeed, of the serpent of old: how God established enmity between the seed of the woman and its offspring following the fall of the first human. Because it was ineffective against the head, it lay in ambush for the heel.¹⁶¹ It hid itself along the path so that it might at least strike horses' hooves and might bring down the rider along with the horse,¹⁶² seeing to it (by virtue of the usual craft of deceit and the malice of accustomed evil) that insofar as you

aimed at the crusade leadership. His arguments fail to convince, insofar as each letter seems to address both levels of the army.

¹⁵⁷ Gress-Wright, 175; PL 214:cxxxix.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Jas 5:3.

¹⁵⁹ Gen 19:26.

¹⁶⁰ Num 11:5.

¹⁶¹ Gen 3:15.

¹⁶² Gen 49:17.

offended in one matter, you destroyed the merit of your entire labor even as a tri e of leaven spoils an entire mass¹⁶³ and they who are guilty of one action [against the Law] are guilty of all.¹⁶⁴ Inasmuch as that ancient enemy, who is the Devil and Satan, the seducer of the whole world, is mindful of the fact that no one has greater love than one who lays down his life for his friends, in order to deprive you of the reward and good will for such love, he caused you to make war against your brothers and to unfurl your battle standards initially against people of the Faith,¹⁶⁵ so that you might pay him the first fruits of your pilgrimage and pour out for demons both your own and your brothers' blood. Having the appearance of going not to Jerusalem but rather of descending into Egypt,¹⁶⁶ you went down into Jericho on your way from Jerusalem and consequently fell in among thieves.¹⁶⁷ Although they stripped from you the mantle of virtues and laid on you, once you were despoiled, the blows of sins, nevertheless, so far they¹⁶⁸ have not wished to depart or to leave you half alive,¹⁶⁹ because up to now afflictions are visited upon you by evil angels,¹⁷⁰ with the result that, just as you turn aside to the islands for your necessities and turn spoils taken from Christians into your own income,¹⁷¹ so also (we learned) you recently did [the same] at Zara.

For when you arrived there by ship, after first unfurling your battle standards in challenge to the city, you set up tents

¹⁶³ 1 Cor 5:6; Gal 5:9.

¹⁶⁴ Jas 2:10.

¹⁶⁵ The citizens of Zara were Christians of the Latin rite.

¹⁶⁶ It is possible that this was more than a biblical allusion to the story of the Exodus; the pope might have been subtly faulting the crusaders for making Alexandria an initial tactical objective rather concentrating all their forces immediately on Jerusalem.

¹⁶⁷ Lk 10:30.

¹⁶⁸ The "thieves" seem to be the Venetians.

¹⁶⁹ Lk 10:30.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Ps 77 (78):49. Although the Venetians are surely thieves in this strained metaphor, it does not seem they are the devils (evil angels) mentioned here. Yet the Venetians have seized opportunities afforded by the afflictions visited on the army by the evil spirits.

¹⁷¹ A not-too-oblique reference to the fleet's slow passage down the Dalmatian coast from 1 October to 10 November, during which it received tokens of submission to Venetian overlordship and took tribute. Inasmuch as Trieste and Mugla had to be forced into submission (see the *DC* below), presumably they also collected spoils.

for a siege. You surrounded the city on every side with trenches and undermined its walls, not without a good deal of blood-letting. Whenever the citizens wished to submit, along with the Venetians, to your¹⁷² judgment (and not even in this could they find any mercy in you), they hung images of the Cross around the walls. But you attacked the city and the citizens to the not insubstantial injury of the Crucified One, and what is more, by violent skill you compelled them to surrender. Yet, reverence for the Cross you took up, or devotion to our most beloved son in Christ, Emeric, distinguished king of the Hungarians,¹⁷³ and to that nobleman, Duke Andrew, his brother,¹⁷⁴ who have assumed the sign of the Cross for the aid of the Holy Land,¹⁷⁵ or, at least, the authority of the Apostolic See, which took care to prohibit you strictly from attempting to invade or violate the lands of Christians unless either they wickedly impede your journey or another just or¹⁷⁶ necessary cause should, perhaps, arise that would allow you to act otherwise in accordance with the guidance offered by our legate, should have deterred you from such a very wicked plan.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Migne incorrectly has *nostrum*, which changes the reading to “to our [papal] judgment”: PL 214:1178.

¹⁷³ Emeric, or Imre, I (r. 1196-1204).

¹⁷⁴ He succeeded Emeric as Andrew II and reigned 1205-1235.

¹⁷⁵ Duke Andrew had inherited the crusade vow from his late father, King Béla III (r. 1173-1196), and King Emeric swore his own vow in the spring of 1200. Emeric, who probably had little desire to go on crusade, died before Innocent could force his departure; Andrew finally discharged his obligation by joining the Fifth Crusade: James R. Sweeney, “Hungary in the Crusades, 1169-1218,” *International History Review* 3 (1981): 473-476 and 478-481.

¹⁷⁶ *Vél*: See the same formula and the different conjunctions used in letters 5:161 (162) and 6:101 (notes 192 and 247).

¹⁷⁷ Although the letter is now lost, it appears certain that the pope had warned all crusaders in 1201 not to attack Christian lands, save in the exceptional circumstances outlined here. Our evidence comes from the *Gesta Innocentii III.*, where we read in regard to the Treaty of Venice of 1201:

When preparation for aiding the province of Jerusalem reached a significant level in Italy as well as in Gaul, the Gallican crusader counts sent their envoys into Italy to the doge and people of Venice for the purpose of hiring suitable ships from them. In a like manner, negotiations were conducted between the parties on the matter of concluding an alliance. As soon as they agreed on certain contractual points, they jointly made preparations so that while some would head to Syria, others would travel to Egypt to capture Alexandria and neighboring areas. In this manner, the Holy Land would be liberated more easily from pagan hands. Therefore, after the Franks and the Venetians ratified this alliance, both parties together sent envoys to

Lest, indeed, the forgoing prohibition be heard with little zeal, should there be those who presumed to contravene it, we ruled they would be bound by the chain of excommunication and denied the benefit of the indulgence that the Apostolic See granted to the crusaders. In other respects, although our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, legate of the Apostolic See, had taken care to explain to some of you the meaning of our prohibition and, finally, our letter was publicly presented to you,¹⁷⁸ you submitted to neither God nor the Apostolic See but compelled the pitiable Zarans to surrender. The Venetians, therefore, knocked down the walls of this same city in your sight, they despoiled churches, they destroyed buildings, and you shared the spoils of Zara with them.

Lest, therefore, you add sin to sin and there be fulfilled in you, as it is written, "The sinner values little when he has arrived in the depths of vice,"¹⁷⁹ we admonish all of you and exhort you more intently, and we command you through this Apostolic letter, and we strictly order under the threat of anathema¹⁸⁰ that you neither destroy Zara any more than it has

the Apostolic See requesting that the Supreme Pontiff confirm by Apostolic authority these agreements that they made between themselves for the relief of the Holy Land. He, in fact, having a foreboding of what was to come, cautiously replied that he was disposed to confirm these agreements on one condition: namely, that they not harm Christians, unless, perchance, they wickedly impeded their journey or, perhaps, another just or necessary cause arose that would not allow them to act otherwise, and then only with the guidance offered by the legate of the Apostolic See. The Venetians, however, did not wish to accept confirmation on this note. Whereupon, one concludes for certain what their intention was, as shown later by the result of their work (Gress-Wright, 163-164; PL 214:cxxx).

¹⁷⁸ Probably in September 1202, Innocent dispatched a letter to the army with Boniface's friend and spiritual counselor, Peter of Lucedio. The letter, forbidding an attack on Zara under the pain of excommunication, reached the crusaders before the attack and was read to them not by Abbot Peter, but by his fellow Cistercian, Abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay: Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi hystoria Albigensis*, Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, eds., 3 vols. (Paris, 1926-1939), 1:108-109. Most of the crusaders, however, chose to believe that they were obligated to attack the city, and they acted accordingly.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Prov 18:3.

¹⁸⁰ Here Innocent distinguishes between the formal and more serious sentence of anathema "with bell and candle" and the state of automatic excommunication (*excommunicatio late sententie*) in which the crusaders found themselves as soon as they attacked Zara.

been destroyed up to this point nor cause it to be destroyed (or permit it, insofar as it in your power). Rather, arrange to restore to the envoys of that same king all that has been taken.

Moreover,¹⁸¹ you should realize that you lie under the sentence of excommunication and cannot share in the grant of remission¹⁸² promised you.

Issued at the Lateran.

Reg. 5:161 (162)
February? 1203

This slightly later letter, written in late January or early February, certainly superseded Reg. 5:160 (161), and it is also more temperate in tone, having been composed after the pope received an apologetic embassy from an apparently penitent crusade army. As such,

¹⁸¹ The word is *alioquin*, which most historians have understood in the sense of “otherwise (rather than the “moreover that I now prefer). See the curial addendum to Reg. 7:208, where Innocent, writing to Doge Enrico Dandolo, employs *alioquin* in a manner that can only mean “moreover. If translated here as “otherwise, the word seems to imply that the crusaders are being *threatened* with excommunication and loss of the crusade indulgence. For this reason, Helene Tillmann understands the sentence to mean that they *will be* considered excommunicated should they continue in their evil ways, and from this she concludes that Reg. 5:160 (161) was never sent to the army because it was drafted before the pope learned of the army’s consciousness of its excommunicated status, something he was initially willing to overlook. Once the pope learned of the crusaders’ contrition, he dispatched 5:161 (162) in place of 5:160 (161): *Pope Innocent III*, Walter Sax, trans., (New York, 1980), 285, note 30. Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen, 1969), 107, agrees. Gill, “Franks, 93, note 39, disagrees, translating these concluding words as: “Otherwise realise that you are (already) lying under the sentence of excommunication and (will be) ineligible for the promised favour of forgiveness. As is clear from my translation, I think this sentence means that the crusaders were excommunicated and were (at least for the moment) ineligible for the promised crusade indulgence. Yet, *alioquin* makes this, at least to my eyes, an ambiguous sentence.

To the contrary, Hageneder, “Neuinterpretation, 197–213, sees no ambiguity. Hageneder maintains that Innocent clearly stated in this last sentence that the crusaders were *ipso facto* excommunicated, whereas in the preceding sentence the pope threatened to add the formal sentence of *anathema*, with all of its more severe consequences, if the crusaders did not meet certain conditions. I agree that this is what those two sentences mean, but although their meaning might be clear to Hageneder and to a thirteenth-century canon lawyer, did the pope expect the crusaders (and even their clerics) to understand this subtle distinction between formal anathema and automatic excommunication? It seems a stretch.

¹⁸² The crusade indulgence. In my earlier study, “Zara, 20, I misunderstood it to refer to the uncanonical remission of the papal excommunication that the bishops traveling with the army had granted the crusaders.

it established a straight-forward, fairly simple, but also no-nonsense process through which the crusaders could be readmitted to communion with the Church.

To the counts, barons, and the other crusaders without greeting:

We are inwardly touched by a pain in the heart and are not a little troubled by grief that you, soldiers of Christ, who have left your respective homes, along the way (indeed, on an impassable road) were, to the contrary, made minions of Satan, and you who put your hand on the plow, having turned back, you are now not fit for the Kingdom of God, according to evangelical teaching.¹⁸³ For when you vowed to go up from Egypt to Jerusalem, to the contrary you descended from Jerusalem into Egypt, and you looked back, along with Lot's wife, for which, along with her, you were transformed into a pillar of salt.¹⁸⁴ This is not the salt prescribed for use in every sacrifice but rather the salt of which the Lord gives witness when He says: "If salt loses its saltiness, it no longer has any worth save for being thrown out and tread under foot by all."¹⁸⁵ Well, although you bore the Cross for Christ, you later turned your arms against Him, and you, who should have attacked the land of the Saracens, occupied Christian Zara. For we have learned that, when you arrived there by ship, after first unfurling your battle standards **etc. in the same manner [as above] up to** "you shared the spoils of Zara with them."¹⁸⁶

Although we have been troubled not a little regarding this, nevertheless, we rejoice in the Lord that you recognize your guilt and you propose to expiate it by penance, as our venerable brother, the bishop of Soissons,¹⁸⁷ and the others who came with him¹⁸⁸ from your camp humbly intimated to us. Al-

¹⁸³ Lk 9:62.

¹⁸⁴ Gen 19:26.

¹⁸⁵ Mt 5:13.

¹⁸⁶ A scribal space-saving note in the register indicating that a portion of Reg. 5:160 (161) is repeated here.

¹⁸⁷ Nivelon: see *The Anonymous of Soissons* below.

¹⁸⁸ Master John Faicete of Noyon, chancellor of the county of Flanders and bishop-elect of Acre; two laymen, John of Friaise and Robert of Boves; and the Cistercian abbot of Pairis, Martin: Andrea, *Capture*, 154, note 84; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 165-167, 99-100, 124, and 249-250, respectively.

though, when in our presence, they minimized your deviation, still they did not wish to obstinately excuse it away because they could not. For we learned through them that you proceeded to the storming of Zara moved not by your own will but compelled, so to speak, by a certain necessity. Although this does not excuse the boldness of such cruelty, inasmuch as you persuaded yourselves that you were in a crisis of this sort and inasmuch as [one gives] ``a hide for a hide, then a person should surrender all that he has for his breath of life.¹⁸⁹

In order, therefore, that your crime be completely purged, we admonish all of you and carefully exhort you and through this Apostolic letter strictly charge you by direct order that, to the extent that you repent such a great aberration and there are suitable reparations for the sin, you take care to make atonement to the Lord through penance and suitable satisfaction, returning all that came to you by way of spoils at Zara and in the future fully abstaining from similar acts. Because, indeed, no one may, except by our authority, set aside the sentence handed down by the Apostolic See that you incurred for the recent deed although it has been unheard of up to now that anyone whatsoever attempt to absolve those whom the Roman Church has bound, except perhaps those who are at the point of death (as that Church permits)¹⁹⁰ it follows that the absolution that the bishops traveling with your army conferred on you had no validity. Therefore, we have given orders to our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, to demand and receive such an oath from those who have not yet vowed to obey our orders, either in person or through another prudent man. Moreover, they¹⁹¹ are to demand from those who have already taken oaths that they acknowledge in their presence they have so sworn themselves. And so, supported by our authority, they may bestow upon you the bounty of absolution in accordance with the Church's procedure. Next without violating our mandate in other matters, they are to enjoin you under the obliga-

¹⁸⁹ The ambiguous Latin here is a quotation from the Vulgate edition of Job 2:4. Here it seems best to translate *anima* as ``breath of life'' rather than as ``soul.

¹⁹⁰ *Decretum Gratiani*, C.16, q.1, c.52 and C.17, q.4, c.29.

¹⁹¹ Cardinal Peter or his representative.

tion of the oath that you, the counts and barons, by means of a letter patent with attached seals, pledge both yourselves and your heirs to the Apostolic See that, in accordance with its mandate, you will take care to render satisfaction for such high-handed action. Moreover they are to warn everyone in the host that you fully guard against similar actions in the future: neither invading nor violating the lands of Christians in any manner unless, perchance, they wickedly impede your journey or another just or¹⁹² necessary cause should, perhaps, arise, on account of which you would be empowered to act otherwise according to the guidance offered by the Apostolic See.¹⁹³ As for the rest, we have placed in the mouth of the said bishop certain words, which he can faithfully relate to you.¹⁹⁴

Therefore, we instruct all of you and exhort in the name of the Lord and order through this Apostolic letter that you humbly beseech the aforementioned king of Hungary that, out of his innate regal clemency, he deign, for God and because of God, to show mercy to you for the offense you committed against him.

Issued at the Lateran.

Reg. 6:48

21 April 1203

Cardinal Peter Capuano departed from Rome before 1 December 1202,¹⁹⁵ and possibly headed to his native city of Amal.¹⁹⁶ Some

¹⁹² Here the chancery uses *sive*, which means "or" in a disjunctive sense that is not absolute. That is, items joined by this conjunction are not antithetical (one does not preclude the other); their contrast is one of choice, subjective judgment, or happenstance. Earlier in this letter and in 5:160 (161) the somewhat ambiguous *vel* is used (see note 176). Normally it also means "or" in this same disjunctive sense, but it can, in rare cases, mean "and" in medieval Latin. In Reg. 6:101 the conjunction used will be *et*, which clearly means "and."

¹⁹³ Is Innocent upping the ante here? Now the crusaders seem to need the specific approval of the pope and not just of his legate.

¹⁹⁴ This was probably a clear verbal order not to travel to Constantinople with Alexius the Younger. Gunther of Pairis informs us that word of the Greek prince's overtures to the army had reached the papal court while the army's delegates were there, and the pope, fearing this adventure would impede or destroy the crusade, specifically ordered the army to sail directly to Alexandria: *HC in Orth*, 128-130 (*Andrea, Capture*, 82-84).

¹⁹⁵ As noted in Reg. 6:130.

¹⁹⁶ Maleczek, *Pietro*, 146; one fact that supports this supposition is that Abbot Mar-

time in April 1203,¹⁹⁷ Cardinal Peter set sail from Italy to join his colleague Soffredo in the Holy Land. Although at times the pope seems to have been uncertain as to his activities and whereabouts,¹⁹⁸ the cardinal legate certainly maintained some contact with the papal curia while he sojourned in southern Italy. We infer this from several facts. Following the protocol established by 5:161 (162), the cardinal exercised his option of sending a representative to the crusader army at Zara. The Venetians, who showed no sign of repentance,¹⁹⁹ were formally anathematized, and a bull to that effect was delivered to the army at Zara by Cardinal Peter's nuncio, who arrived at the crusader encampment before it sailed away from the city on 20 April.²⁰⁰ On his part, sometime before embarking for the Holy Land, Peter received from the pope two *pallia*²⁰¹ for delivery in the East: one to Clarembald, archbishop elect of Tyre;²⁰² and one to Cardinal Soffredo, who had been elected patriarch of Jerusalem in early 1203 (but subsequently refused the honor, despite the pope's urging him to accept it).²⁰³

Prior to his own setting sail for the East, Peter dispatched a now-lost letter to the Roman curia in which he requested papal direction on three issues. When he sent that letter—a letter that was written in a state of high uncertainty—is unknown, but it is conceivable that he sent it in early March, even though the pope only answered it on 21 April. The pope's reply certainly seems to suggest that the situation was not only murky but that Innocent and his legate were having trouble communicating. Given the situation in Rome at that

tin of Pairis linked up with Cardinal Peter at Benevento, which is not far from Amal, after the abbot left the papal court in February/March 1202: *HC* in Orth, 131 (Andrea, *Capture*, 85).

¹⁹⁷ There is uncertainty regarding when Peter sailed East. Maleczek, *Petrus*, 148 and 166, and *Pietro*, 158, accepts the testimony of Gunther of Pairis that Cardinal Peter embarked in early April and landed at Acre on 25 April 1203: *HC* in Orth, 131 (Andrea, *Capture*, 86). To the contrary, Andrea argues that Peter and his traveling companion, Abbot Martin of Pairis, set sail from the Italian port of Siponto (Manfredonia) around 25 April: Andrea, *Capture*, 158-159, notes 116 and 118.

¹⁹⁸ Reg. 6:130.

¹⁹⁹ *Gesta Innocentii III.*: Gress-Wright, 178; PL 214: cxxxix-cxl.

²⁰⁰ On the army's departure, see *FC*², 96. The nuncio's arrival was noted but not dated by Boniface of Montferrat in his letter of April 1203 to the pope: Reg. 6:100.

²⁰¹ The *pallium* is a white strip of cloth with embroidered crosses that hangs about the shoulders and down the front, serving as a badge of primate office. It is worn by the pope and conferred by the pope on patriarchs, primates, and all other archbishops.

²⁰² Reg. 6:131 of 12 August 1203; *Register Innocenz III.*, 6:222.

²⁰³ Reg. 6:129 of 16 August 1203; *ibid.*, 217-218; Maleczek, *Kardinalskolleg*, 75.

time, this lack of communication is understandable.

Rome in early 1203 was torn apart by factional strife, and the city was becoming increasingly dangerous by the day. In that unsettled atmosphere, Innocent was distracted. The result seems to have been a dashed-off letter to Cardinal Peter—a letter that ranks as one of the most opaque letters of instruction that Innocent ever composed (if, indeed, it is a letter and not just an incomplete draft that somehow made its way into the registers). Yet, despite the fact that this hasty letter (and let us assume it was a letter and that it was sent to Cardinal Peter) is not representative of the pope's best work, it is not so unintelligible as to be beyond all analysis.²⁰⁴

The key to understanding the letter is perceiving that the pope was playing out in his mind several different possible scenarios and was trying, in the midst of other pressures, to formulate coherent and reasonable policies for each eventuality. First of all, Innocent was unsure as to whether or not the crusade barons would accept absolution according to the terms he had delineated in February. At the same time, he was considering the likelihood that the Franks would repent and the Venetians would not. If that happened, he had a new problem to face: Could Christians in good standing travel with unrepentant excommunicates? Then there was the problem of how to respond to the possibility that the Venetians, and the Frankish army along with them, might decide to sail to Constantinople, despite papal prohibition of that adventure.²⁰⁵ Regarding this latter possibility, the pope's answer was clear and unequivocal: Cardinal Peter could not travel with the fleet, and he should consider the entire crusader host as condemned by the Lord. If the Franks, however, met the terms for absolution, which clearly included a prohibition against attacking any Christians save in certain extraordinary circumstances, and also managed to convince the excommunicated Venetians to convey them directly to their original crusade destination, then what was Peter to do? Innocent apparently still held out hope—ill-founded as it turned out—that the

²⁰⁴ What follows is essentially an argument first articulated by John C. Moore and presented in the joint paper, A. J. Andrea and John C. Moore, "A Question of Character: Two Views on Innocent III and the Fourth Crusade," *Innocenzo III, Urbs et Orbis*, Rome, 14 September 1998.

²⁰⁵ See note 194 accompanying Reg. 5:161 (162). The tone of Reg. 6:48 seems to imply strongly that Innocent expected both his legate and the crusaders to know that he had forbidden the diversion to Constantinople in no uncertain terms.

Venetians would reverse their earlier decision not to accept Capuano as a papal legate. Forced to wrestle with this conundrum of his legate traveling with unrepentant excommunicates, Innocent anticipated a policy that he would more clearly and fully articulate two months later in a letter dispatched to the crusaders in June. His answer in April was that Cardinal Peter could travel with the army with a clear conscience, even though the Venetians remained excommunicated. Finally, Innocent apparently anticipated the possibility that the barons would balk at the requirement that they bind heirs, as well as themselves, to make restitution to the king of Hungary, and he essentially instructed Peter to make the best deal he could. This was the best a besieged pope could do in difficult times with a situation whose details were less than clear and with lines of communication that rendered him unable to influence immediately the actions of his crusaders. It is interesting to note that much of the advice that Innocent gave his legate was already moot: Peter had decided not to try to rejoin the army, and he had already dispatched a nuncio to the crusade army at Zara (indeed, the nuncio had already arrived there).

To Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, legate of the Apostolic See:

Among those things that you intimated to us in your letter, there were three items on which you were especially perplexed and requested our response, by reason of your fear that the Venetians would fatuously refuse to accept the benefit of absolution, would not wish to receive you as a legate of the Apostolic See, and, as you had learned for certain, would wish to depart for Greece with the son of the former emperor of Constantinople, whom they are intent on conducting there with them.

By way of a brief answer, we address your powers of discretion on this matter and, through this Apostolic letter, enjoin the following course of action upon you. Unless they receive absolution according to the form that we know we articulated to you in another letter²⁰⁶ and promise firmly not to attack Christians, and accept and deal with you as a legate of the

²⁰⁶ A lost letter, but see Reg. 5:161 (162).

Apostolic See, obeying you humbly and devotedly, you are to abandon their army, an army that is, so to speak, condemned by the Lord and removed from His blessings, lest you appear to consent to their wickedness, and you are to make your way to Jerusalem. You may, however, with a clear conscience²⁰⁷ travel on with the Franks, if they do not wish²⁰⁸ to follow the Venetians *per dy*. On the question of the barons' absolution, if perchance they do not wish to bind their successors or heirs, prudently do whatever God will deign to inspire in you. Issued at the Lateran on the tenth day before the Kalends of May.

Reg. 6:68

Ca. 20-30 May 1203

In the first week of May 1203, Innocent and his court fled the strife-torn city of Rome for the more secure environment of Ferentino. Later that month the pope sent letters to the monarchs of France and England (Regs. 6:68 and 69) in yet another attempt to establish peace or, at least, a truce between the two men and their supporters. Innocent remained convinced that their quarrel was the major reason the West was unable to launch a massive crusade effort that went well beyond the twenty or so thousand crusaders who had recently mustered at Venice.

The letters are almost identical, but the one to King Philip II of France contains a reference to the crusaders that is lacking in the letter to King John. This reference, which appears here in boldface type, shows us the level of the pope's knowledge (and ignorance) of the crusade's course as mid 1203 approached, and it might also suggest that the crusade was now largely beyond effective papal control.

As the ellipses indicate, only those portions of the letter to King Philip that are relevant to the crusade have been translated here.

²⁰⁷ [*S*]ecure, which can also mean "fearlessly" or "freely."

²⁰⁸ Migne's less trustworthy edition of this letter has *voluerint* (if they wish) rather than the correct *noluerint* (if they do not wish): PL 214:50. The former reading has led to some rather strained interpretations of this entire sentence: e. g. A. J. Andrea, "Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt, Crusader, and Monk of Sittichenbach: His Ecclesiastical Career, 1184-1225," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 37, note 115.

To the Illustrious King of the French:

Because Your Royal Majesty is well aware that with us there ought not to be any consideration as to individuals, we do not believe you will take it badly if we discharge the duty of our pastoral office in your own case. Otherwise, in addition to the displeasure of the Divine Majesty, which we will incur were we to be negligent, our ministry would also incur human censure if we were to overlook anything, even in the case of those matters that concern kings and princes, because we were more concerned with their wishes rather than their salvation.... However, we carry out this duty in regard to Your Royal Majesty with greater confidence because we know you warmly received our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, who in the past was dispatched to you on a similar matter,²⁰⁹ and in his case we know that you fully sympathized with our concern.²¹⁰ For you know (as one who has read it in the book of daily experience) what great evils have befallen not only your kingdoms jointly but all Christian people generally as a result of the dispute that has arisen, as a consequence of sin,²¹¹ between you and our well beloved son in Christ John, illustrious king of the English. Now, take a look! Because you take turns attacking one another, churches are destroyed, the wealthy are impover-

²⁰⁹ Reg. 1:136.

²¹⁰ Innocent's commission to Cardinal Peter in August 1198 consisted of three primary tasks: to preach a crusade; to promote peace between King Philip II and King Richard I; and to reconcile King Philip with his wife Queen Ingeborg, whom he had repudiated: *Gesta Innocentii III.* (Gress-Wright, 68; PL 214:xcix-cxii); Regs. 1:345-348 in *Register Innocenz III.*, 1:515-520. Capuano failed to force Philip to acknowledge Ingeborg as his lawful wife and queen, and in conformity with the pope's instructions, Cardinal Peter placed France under papal interdict before returning to Rome. His overall role in the successful preaching of what became the Fourth Crusade is open to question, but he probably did have some positive impact on the recruitment of French crusaders. His major success as legate was to engineer a five-year truce between Philip and Richard early in January 1199: Regs. 2:23-25 in *Register Innocenz III.*, 2:31-35. Because his war with Richard was not going well, King Philip was eager at this time for a truce; King Richard was not, but he finally agreed to the cessation of hostilities. Before the end of March, however, Richard was dead, and his successor, King John (r. 1199-1216), was nowhere near the able field commander Richard had been. As a result, Philip soon renewed the fighting in an effort to strip John of his continental holdings.

²¹¹ *Peccatis exigentibus*, or "as payment for our sins. This term, which was a cliché among crusade historians, is often best translated as "for the purgation of our sins" (See the Anonymous of Soissons).

ished, the poor are oppressed, and because no one is spared by reason of religion or sex, religious men, who used to devote themselves to prayer, are forced to beg, and we say with sorrow that women, who had vowed their virginity to the Author of virginity, are prostituted for the pleasure of brigands. The Saracens, as well, now grow bold against the Christians, and they, who feared being driven out [of the Holy Land] when you both were reconciled and at peace with one another, have regained their courage because of your quarrel, and they have arisen in greater strength to drive out the Christians. **This is all the more so when the French princes [of the crusade], regarding whom we lodge a complaint before the Divine Majesty and Your Highness, retreating from their worthy purpose, have turned their weapons against Christians in defiance of our prohibition.**²¹² **So far they have given no thought as to how they might redeem themselves,**²¹³ **but they have planned to try worse things than what they did earlier (so it has been brought to our attention).**²¹⁴...

Issued at Ferentino.

Reg. 6:99
April 1203

Sometime early in January 1203, possibly even before their envoys arrived in Rome to secure papal forgiveness for their actions at Zara, the leaders of the crusade decided to accept Alexius the Younger's proposal and to sail with him to Constantinople in the spring. In April, as they awaited Alexius's arrival at Zara, the Frankish leaders dispatched two letters to the pope, which reached him at Ferentino in very late spring, probably in mid-June.

The first of these, Reg. 6:99, from Counts Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of Saint Pol, claimed to have met the pope's terms regarding a sworn oath to render satisfaction to the king of Hungary (thirteenth-century canons of justice demanded

²¹² The Zaran Affair.

²¹³ He has not yet received the crusade leaders' oaths of obedience as stipulated in Reg. 5:161 (162). See Reg. 6:99.

²¹⁴ Word has reached the pope from an independent source of the crusaders' sailing to Constantinople.

that Zara's overlord, rather than its violated citizens, be recompensed) and offered a seemingly half-hearted admission of guilt. They further begged the pope not to chastise Boniface of Montferrat who had, in order to preserve the integrity of the expedition, withheld publication of the formal bull of anathema against the Venetians.

To the Most Holy Father and beloved Lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff by the grace of God, whose feet Counts Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut,²¹⁵ Louis of Blois and Chartres,²¹⁶ and Hugh of Saint Pol,²¹⁷ his knights, kiss most readily and freely with full allegiance:

Having understood the mandate emanating from your fatherly care and having received with deserved devotion your letter, as well as that of the venerable father Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, through his nuncio and our [envoys], with proper devotion we followed through in all respects with the sworn or certified oath according to the formula set forth in your letter. We have obtained the favor of an Apostolic absolution, and bound by the order of the said legate, we have sent to that same man the letter that you sought. Also the tenor of it we are led to make known to Your Apostolicity through the bearer of the present letter. For we trust in Your Apostolic Piety, [and know] that your mandate, as much as it resounds on the surface with a hard paternal severity (which was aimed at obtaining filial obedience and instantaneous devotion), is bound to contain within itself nothing harmful²¹⁸ to us or our heirs. Indeed, the tenor of the said letter is this:

Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, Count Louis of Blois and Chartres, and Count Hugh of Saint Pol, Odo of Champlitte²¹⁹ and William his brother,²²⁰ to all whom this

²¹⁵ Baldwin IX of Flanders/Baldwin VI of Hainaut (1171-1205): Robert Lee Wolf, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172-1225," *Speculum* 27 (1952): 281-322; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 137-140. Count Baldwin was second in rank and prestige only to Marquis Boniface.

²¹⁶ Louis I of Blois and Chartres (1171-1205): Longnon, *Compagnons*, 79-84.

²¹⁷ Hugh IV of Saint Pol (r. 1174-1205): *ibid.*, 195-197. See the letter of Count Hugh below.

²¹⁸ *Captiosum*. The word usually means "insidious" or "deceptive," but "harmful" seems to strike the right tone here.

letter reaches, greetings in the Lord. We wish it to be noted that because of that Apostolic excommunication that we incurred at Zara (or we fear we incurred)²²¹ we oblige ourselves, as well as our heirs, to the Apostolic See and that according to its mandate we will take care to render satisfaction. Given at Zara in the month of April in the year of the Lord 1203.

Indeed, freely and without objection, we appended to this letter our seals (those of the counts), but we have understood that those of the following barons, namely Odo and his brother William, were missing. And although the barons have made confession, as we learned from those to whom the duty of absolving us was given (and they were enjoined to give immediate absolution on the strength of the oaths being given), so they (the barons) have dispatched that sort of letter you have enjoined.

Regarding the deed of the illustrious man and chief leader of our army, the marquis of Montferrat, through which, it is plain to see, out of reverence for the Apostolic [See] and in order to keep the feet together (in fulfillment of your wish),²²² he humbly withheld making public your letter for a while, namely until Your Holiness might order by repeat command what should be done about those things at this time.²²³ We supplicate Your Most Pious Paternity that, out of consideration for divine love, you do not chastise [him] undeservedly, in the certain knowledge that, if this letter had been made public to the doge and the Venetians at this place and time, on that very day the feet would have dissolved, and the army would now have been disbanded. We have learned for certain from Master John of Noyon, our envoy,²²⁴ that he most readily implored Your Paternity that for the time being the

²¹⁹ Odo II of Champlitte (d. 1204); Longnon, *Compagnons*, 209-210.

²²⁰ William of Champlitte: *ibid.*, 210-212.

²²¹ Apparently some crusaders doubted they had ever been excommunicated for the Zaran Affair, possibly because no formal bull anathemizing the Frankish crusaders was ever published: Andrea, "Conrad," 27, note 74.

²²² A desire that Innocent undoubtedly articulated to the army's delegates in February 1203 in his verbal orders. See notes 194, 227, and 250.

²²³ *Tempeste*, which can also mean "storm" rather than the more neutral *tempore*. Hence, it can mean, "in this tempest.

²²⁴ See note 188.

Venetians' excommunication be kept secret, out of consideration of the danger of the army's dissolving. He was not listened to, and on this point silence was imposed on him by your command. Nonetheless, by means of another consultation, we have opted to inquire as to your desire rather than have the fleet torn asunder through the publication of the said letter, which would be a peril to our bodies and souls, a desolation for the Holy Land, and an occasion for the insolence of and even mockery by the enemies of the Cross—something also contrary to your will, as we have totally believed and as we have learned through our envoys.

However, the discernment of Your Paternity ought to know for certain that whatever is ordered regarding that letter, whatever ought forthwith to happen, will be done without delay by the said marquis or someone else of our company.

Reg. 6:100
April 1203

The second letter was from Boniface of Montferrat, the elected leader of the crusade's non-naval forces. The marquis had arrived at Zara only after its capture and, therefore, had not incurred the ban of excommunication. Needing no absolution and not required to append his seal to the barons' special oath to the papacy, he sent his own letter. In it he acknowledged his temporary suppression of the bull of anathema against the Venetians out of his concern for keeping the fleet intact. The double implication was that this wise tactic best served the pope's primary goal—a successful crusade—and if Innocent still wrongheadedly wanted the letter of excommunication made public, he would have to so order it again and explicitly so.

The two baronial letters seem quite disingenuous. Publication of the bull would not have caused the Venetians to abandon the enterprise (as the two letters seem to imply), but it would have given ammunition to the majority element within the army's rank and file that did not favor the diversion to Constantinople.²²⁵ For this rea-

²²⁵ Donald E. Queller, Thomas K. Compton, and Donald A. Campbell, "The Fourth Crusade: The Neglected Majority," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 458-560. See below the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol and the *DC*.

son alone the leaders kept secret the fact that the unrepentant Venetians remained excommunicated.²²⁶

To the Most Holy Father and Lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff by Divine Providence, whose feet the marquis of Montferrat is prepared and willing to kiss with every sign of subservience:

The letter from Your Paternity was received by the barons of the crusade army, and they obtained the favor of an Apostolic absolution from the envoy of our venerable father Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, by means of the sworn and certified oath. Through information shared with me by the barons, I learned that, because of the Zaran Affair, the Apostolic See's letter of excommunication for the doge and the Venetians was produced by that same envoy. Mindful (indeed, knowing it for a fact) that in no way could that letter be presented at this time and place, lest our army be immediately dissolved and the fleet disbanded, and remembering your advice that much must be concealed²²⁷ at this time and place if the Venetians should aspire to dissolve the fleet, in consideration of divine love and also out of reverence for the Apostolic See, from which the fleet had its origin and afterwards its support, I received advice to suppress that letter for the time being, until I might obtain by way of command your mandate and advice once again. I received that letter from the hand of your envoy with all humility on bended knees in a great spirit of remorse and devotion, and I handed it over for safekeeping for the time being to the

²²⁶ Robert of Clari mirrors the ignorance of the army's rank and file when he reports that the envoys secured a papal letter of absolution for both the pilgrims and the Venetians: Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, Philippe Lauer, ed. (Paris, 1924), 15, sec. XV.

²²⁷ *Multa dissimulanda*. As Professor John C. Moore has pointed out to me, although the gerundive phrase as used here clearly means "much must be concealed," elsewhere Pope Innocent uses the verb *dissimulare* in the sense of "to put up with" or "to overlook." See for example, the Letter of Advice (Reg. 6:102). Apparently the pope had instructed the army's lead delegate, Bishop Nivelon of Soissons, that many Venetian acts "must be disregarded" by the Franks in order to keep the army together. This instruction was either misunderstood or deliberately altered to mean that certain information must be suppressed. Moore and I develop this argument more fully in our forthcoming "A Question of Character: Two Views on Innocent III and the Fourth Crusade," submitted to the Proceedings of *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*.

most religious man, the abbot of Loos,²²⁸ expecting to have incurred on this account, by virtue of a necessary act of pious intention, more the merit due lial obedience than the disfavor of Apostolic indignation. Also I have learned from the doge and certain Venetians known to me that regarding the Zaran Affair they dispatched their own envoy to Your Holiness. We do not know whether or not he has as yet reached the Apostolic See.²²⁹ Kept in doubt by this hope, I have up to now delayed delivering the message [to the Venetians].

Thus it is that I beseech Your Paternity with every feeling of devotion and humility that the suppression of your letter, which, indeed, was done by the agency of my humility and discretion and with con dence in Your Piety, not trouble or disturb the tranquility of your peace in any way, especially since I and the barons of the army are prepared to execute your order, whatsoever you might impose on us again by way of command. For indeed, we are con dent that it is more pleasing in your sight that, by reason of a moderate amount of forbearance, the eets remain together than it be lost by a sudden display of your letter. Notwithstanding, I apologize for the directness of this message,²³⁰ but at this time²³¹ and in the course of this quite difficult passage I have not had a clearer path.

Reg. 6:101

Ca. 20 June 1203

The position in the register of Reg. 6:101, the first of Innocent s two responses to the nobles April letters, suggests that this undated letter was composed close to 20 June 1203. Although I have in the

²²⁸ *Abbatii Laudensi*. The editors of the new Austrian edition of Innocent s registers state that this could refer either to Abbot Simon of Loos or Abbot Peter of Lucedio: *Register Innocenz III.*, 6:162, n.9. *Laudensis* clearly refers to the Cistercian abbey of Loos. Regarding Abbot Simon, who died in 1203 in the midst of the crusade, see Andrea, *Capture*, 21, 24, and 34; *FC*, 85, 86, 253, note 121, and 284, note 65; and Longnon, *Compagnons*, 165.

²²⁹ There is no evidence that such an envoy ever arrived in Rome in early 1203.

²³⁰ *Ceterum simplicitatem huius nuntii sic excuso*: Professor John C. Moore points out that an alternate reading is: "I apologize for the low rank of this messenger.

²³¹ *Tempeste*. See note 223.

past argued for an earlier date,²³² the date of mid June now seems quite reasonable, especially in light of the fact that it appears likely the crusade leaders waited until the point of their departure from Zara before they sent their April letters to the pope. This delay insured their being well into eastern Mediterranean waters, and well beyond effective papal reach, before the pope could react to the news of Boniface of Montferrat's suppression of the bull of excommunication.

Reg. 6:101 is the first *explicit written* prohibition of the diversion to Constantinople that survives. As noted, since 1201 the pope had been forbidding the crusaders to attack any Christians, save in the most exceptional circumstances and then only with the approval of a papal legate. Moreover, in February 1203 he had, in all likelihood, communicated the message through Bishop Nivelon of Soissons that the army was not to travel to Constantinople. But rumors persisted of the army's divergence from these papal orders, as Regs. 6:48 and 68 indicate. The April letters of the barons now provided the pope with two more important pieces of information. Reg. 6:99 provided official word that the crusader leaders had accepted his terms for recommunication, and surely this was a hopeful sign that they were still willing to accept papal direction. On a less positive note, this letter and Reg. 6:100 told of Boniface of Montferrat's suppression of the bull of anathema laid on the Venetians, and this had to be a troubling sign. Now was the time to write again, in the hope that another, even more explicit and forceful prohibition of the Constantinopolitan adventure would not be too late and would not go unheeded.²³³

It is interesting to note that in Reg. 5:160 (161) the pope had identified the Venetians with the thieves of the parable of the Good Samaritan; in this letter he now identifies Doge Dandolo with Pha-

²³² Following Jules Tessier, *La quatrième croisade: La diversion sur Zara et Constantinople* (Paris, 1884), 281-283, I previously accepted the period 7-14 May as a reasonable time frame into which to place this letter: Andrea, "Conrad," 37-38, note 115.

²³³ In the past I have argued that the pope composed Reg. 6:101 as an "empty exercise in order to go on record as having prohibited what he could not stop": "Conrad," 37, note 115. I no longer think that. Cf. *FC*¹, 85-86, and *FC*², 102-103, for two differing views of what the perceived tardiness of this letter suggests. In the former, Queller argues that the pope "allowed to happen what he could not prevent." In the latter, Madden argues that whereas in April the pope was prepared to avert his eyes from the diversion, he later thought better of this policy of silence and reasserted his moral position in Reg. 6:101.

raoh of the story of Exodus, who held the Children of Israel in bondage. Clearly Innocent was convinced that the Venetians, and especially their doge, were the enemy of the crusade.

To the noblemen, the marquis of Montferrat [and] Counts Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of Saint Pol: Since, in the care of a strong hand and an extended arm,²³⁴ you marched out of Egypt in order to offer yourselves as a sacrifice unto the Lord, we have grieved more than a little, and we do grieve that until now Pharaoh pursues you as you see,²³⁵ or rather you follow Pharaoh, who strives, under a certain semblance of necessity and the veil of piety, to subject you to ancient servitude beneath the yoke of sin. Moreover, as we intimated earlier, we have grieved and do grieve: equally for ourselves, for you, and for the entire Christian people. We grieve for ourselves because we believed we would reap in exaltation what we have sown in tears, when often through legates and our letters to you and others (not without a certain bitterness of heart and no small physical distress), we set forth the Word of the Lord and exhorted those who bear the name of Christian to avenge the injury done to Jesus Christ. Unexpectedly a person hostile to our harvest has sown over it cockles and thus tainted the seeds so that the wheat would seem to have degenerated into weeds.²³⁶ For you, however, we grieve because, when you had purged the old leaven and were thenforth believed to have put off fully the old man with his deeds,²³⁷ a tripe of leaven (and would that it were only a tripe!)²³⁸ corrupted anew the entire mass, and you have not kept your garments glistening white but you have, so to speak, put back on the old mantle, withdrawing your hand from the plow and looking backward along with Lot's wife,²³⁹ so that you do

²³⁴ That of God: Deut 5:15.

²³⁵ Ex 14:8.

²³⁶ Mt 13:25-26.

²³⁷ Col 3:9. Madden notes, in an e-mail, that it might be a stretch, but possibly Innocent had in mind the aged doge when he cited this Pauline text.

²³⁸ Compare this with Reg. 5:160 (161), where Innocent used the metaphor of a tripe of leaven corrupting the entire mass. Apparently he had rethought the appropriateness of that image. If, as argued above, Reg. 5:160 (161) had not been sent to the crusaders, this was a good time to recast that metaphor.

²³⁹ See Innocent's use of this same image in Reg. 5:160 (161). This seems to be an-

not now seem fit, according to the Apostle, to merit the kingdom of God.²⁴⁰ We have grieved and do grieve for the Christian people, however, because it is now more deeply abased by that element by which it once believed itself to be more fully exalted. For inasmuch as many who had preceded you in support of the Holy Land, on hearing that you had boarded vessels, confident that your journey was near at hand, returned to their homes, the Saracens, doubting your arrival and feeling secure by virtue of their departure, have risen up against Christian souls. And we do not like to report that, as the price of sin,²⁴¹ they have prevailed over them, as may be common knowledge almost everywhere.

However, we rejoice that, following reception of our letter, you understood your erroneous deviation, and you have devoutly and humbly carried out the Apostolic mandate. Through a sworn or at least²⁴² certified oath you, our sons the counts, along with two French barons, have obtained the benefit of absolution, obligating yourselves and your heirs through letters patent to render satisfaction according to our mandate regarding the matter for which you incurred the sentence of excommunication at Zara. May your penitence be genuine, so that you might thus repent, namely for what you have done, so that you might guard against similar actions in the future because he who continues to do what he repents having done is not a penitent but a trickster, and a penitent returning to his sin is regarded as a dog returning to its vomit.²⁴³ Also a sin that is committed but once is less serious than one that, once committed, is thereafter repeated.

Therefore not one of you should rashly flatter himself that he is allowed to occupy or prey upon the land of the Greeks because it might be too little obedient to the Apostolic See and because the emperor of Constantinople usurped the empire

other case of the papal chancery's recycling a metaphor from a letter that had not been sent.

²⁴⁰ Lk 9:62

²⁴¹ *Peccatis exigentibus* (see note 211). Professor John C. Moore suggested the translation adopted here, arguing that the pope was trying to shame the princes by subtly reminding them that *their* sins were causing the Christians in the Holy Land to suffer.

²⁴² *Vél.*

²⁴³ Prov 26:11; 2 Pet 2:22.

by deposing and also blinding his brother. Truly, however much so this same emperor and the people committed to his jurisdiction did wrong in this or other matters, it is still not your business to judge their crimes. It was not for this, in order to avenge this injury, that you assumed the emblem of the Cross, but rather to avenge the dishonor done the Crucified One, to whose service you have specially appointed yourselves.

For this reason we warn, and exhort more attentively, and enjoin Your Nobility, instructing you through this Apostolic letter, that you not deceive yourselves or allow yourselves to be deceived by others so that under the guise of piety you do those things (may it not be so!) that redound to the destruction of your souls, but rather putting aside worthless opportunities and pretended crises, you sail across in aid of the Holy Land and avenge the injury done to the Cross, taking from the spoils of the enemy those items that, if you were to tarry in the regions of Romania,²⁴⁴ you might perhaps need to wrest from brothers.²⁴⁵ For otherwise, because we neither can nor should, we in no way promise you the grace of remission.²⁴⁶ Moreover, we want you to keep in mind the terms of our prohibition: Under threat of excommunication we have forbidden you to attempt to invade or violate the lands of Christians unless either they wickedly impede your journey or another just and²⁴⁷ necessary cause should, perhaps, arise that would empower you to act otherwise according to our legate's proffered advice. And we warn you not to contravene this prohibition lightly. Lest, however, the guilt of the doge and Venetian people redound to your punishment, we wish and command you to present our letter to them—a letter that we ordered to be presented to them and which is known to be still in your pos-

²⁴⁴ The empire of Constantinople.

²⁴⁵ Yet cf. Reg. 6:102. At one time I read this as a clue that indicated Reg. 6:101 rescinded permission to forage along the Greek coastline—a license given in Reg. 6:102, which I once dated to February/March 1203; A. J. Andrea and John C. Moore, "The Date of Reg. 6:102: Pope Innocent III's Letter of Advice to the Crusaders," *Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Urbana, IL, 1999), 116-117.

²⁴⁶ The crusade indulgence.

²⁴⁷ *Et*. See notes 176 and 192. Was the pope raising the ante here by now demanding that they could attack Christians only under circumstances that were both just and necessary?

session so that they cannot find an excuse for their very sins.
Issued at Ferentino.

Reg. 6:102
Ca. 20 June 1203

The time and place of composition of the undated Reg. 6:102 has vexed a number of historians. Until recently, I maintained it was crafted in February/March 1203 and accompanied Reg. 5:161 (162). I no longer hold that to be so, and accept the register's placement of it at face value. As its surrounding documents suggest, it was written toward 20 June at Ferentino.²⁴⁸

Labeled in the register "Advice [*consilium*] that Lord Pope Innocent sent without a seal to the crusaders, this extraordinary letter is sometimes referred to as the *Letter of Advice*. The fact that it was sent without an official *bull*a, or seal, might indicate that the letter was intended as an unofficial, not legally binding presentation of the pope's still-developing musings of the moment, and those thoughts were subject to revision.²⁴⁹ However, given that Innocent was apparently wrestling with the issues raised in this letter since at least 21 April 1203, when he sent Cardinal Peter Reg. 6:48, and probably had discussed them with the army's legates in Rome in February,²⁵⁰ it seems reasonable to conclude that the pope considered the advice he presented here to be definitive.

Later canon lawyers, however, were far less certain. Whereas they incorporated his ruling regarding necessary sea travel with excommunicates into the Church's body of law,²⁵¹ they excluded

²⁴⁸ Andrea/Moore, "Date, 109-123. See especially page 121, note 10, which lists where I have argued my earlier position.

²⁴⁹ Suggested by Kenneth Pennington in his paper "Pope Innocent III and the Ius Commune," presented at *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, Rome, 11 September 1998. In a private conversation in December 1998, Professor Pennington suggested that this letter's seemingly unofficial and unusual format possibly indicates a deeply divided papal curia, in which many of Innocent's closest advisors disagreed with the position the pope took in the letter.

²⁵⁰ Gunther of Pairis claims that the pope told the army's envoys to the papal court that the army could commandeer a half-year's supplies from the Greek coast: *HC* in Orth, 130 (Andrea, *Capture*, 84). Andrea/Moore, "Date, 114-116, discuss echoes of Reg. 6:102 in the *HC* and the *GeH*. For the latter, see below.

²⁵¹ A. J. Andrea, "The Relationship of Sea Travellers and Excommunicated Captains under Thirteenth Century Canon Law," *Mariner's Mirror*, 68 (1982): 203-209; Brundage, *Canon Law*, 155-156.

his advice on how the crusaders were to provision themselves and how they were to deal with the excommunicated Venetians once the fleet reached its destination in Outremer.²⁵² Apparently, they were disquieted by these licenses. Indeed, Innocent's cryptic closing remarks that when the crusaders arrive at their destination, they might suppress the Venetians' malice, insofar as it might be expedient, has struck many commentators as most curious.²⁵³

Advice that Lord Pope Innocent sent without a seal to the crusaders:

If you are truly penitent for what you have done and propose to offer full satisfaction for your sin, we believe, indeed, we know,²⁵⁴ that God is now pleased with you. Therefore, if the Venetians might be induced to render satisfaction and should merit the benefit of absolution, you may with a clear conscience²⁵⁵ sail with them and fight the Lord's battle.²⁵⁶ But if they, perchance, should wish neither to offer satisfaction nor be absolved, namely as people who are said not to sorrow but rather to rejoice in what they have done, we permit you to cross over by ship with them all the way to the land of the Saracens or to the province of Jerusalem, depending on what has been agreed upon between you and them or will be legitimately agreed to,²⁵⁷ communicating with them as little as possible

²⁵² Early on, Alanus Anglicus tried to modify the provision that gave the crusaders license to forage for supplies by incorporating a judiciously modified version of it into his decretal collection, in an effort to make the ruling consonant with contemporary canonical thought. Later jurists simply ignored the entire last half of the letter: Pennington, "Ius Commune."

²⁵³ *FC*², 90, for example, notes: "The language is deliberately vague, but it seems to suggest that if the crusaders from the lagoon had not repented of their sin by the time they reached the Levant, the other crusaders were justified in destroying them. In our forthcoming joint article, "Character," John Moore and I debate the meaning of these instructions."

²⁵⁴ Probably a reference to the fact that he received Reg. 6:99 and knew they were no longer excommunicated.

²⁵⁵ *Secure*: see note 207 of Reg. 6:48.

²⁵⁶ In Reg. 6:101 (as well as in Reg. 6:48) Innocent seems to have given up on the Venetians showing contrition and seeking papal absolution. Here he seems to still hold out hope. I once saw this as one of several reasons to date 6:102 to February/March 1203. See the next note.

²⁵⁷ In Reg. 6:48 Innocent is reasonably certain that the Venetians are headed to Constantinople (and possibly the army with them). Here Innocent seems to still hold out hope that the Venetians and the army will sail directly to their original destination: Alexandria or the Holy Land. In light of its message and tone, I once concluded that

and for all that with sorrow and bitterness of heart and under the hope of forgiveness. For inasmuch as they have received from you the greater part of the passage money and cannot be persuaded or even forced to refund it, if it were to happen otherwise we would see you suffer a loss due to your repentance. They, however, would obtain a profit due to their hard-heartedness, since they remain obligated to pay this debt to you, and what is owed may be exacted and received from those who have been excommunicated. Moreover, there is a provision in the law that if anyone travels through the territory of heretics or of any excommunicates, he may purchase and receive necessities from them. Moreover, if the head of a household has been entangled in the sentence of excommunication, his family is excused from participation [in the shunning of him].²⁵⁸ Granted, therefore, the doge of the Venetians, the lord of the fleet, remains excommunicated like the head of a household, nevertheless you, being like his family as long as you are in his ships, will not be contaminated by his excommunication, and you will be excused in the eyes of God if, while staying in the ships of excommunicates, you communicated, with sorrow of heart and in hope of [their] repentance, with those whose company you cannot avoid. When, indeed, it happens that you disembark from the ships either in the land of the Saracens or in the province of Jerusalem, unless the Venetians have been persuaded or compelled to render satisfaction and to receive the benefit of absolution according to the form of the Church, you should in no way presume to fight the Lord's battle with them lest, with the Venetians having some taint of anathema, you advance against the enemies of the Cross and fail to prevail against them. Rather, turning your backs, you flee and perish. For one reads in the Book of Joshua that when Achar, son of Carmi, had accursedly stolen from Jericho a quite fine scarlet mantle and two hundred shekels of silver and a gold bar weighing fifty shekels, the Lord of Israel was angered. Wherefore, when three thousand soldiers marched up to the city of Hai, immediately turning their backs, they were assaulted by the men of Hai, and thirty-six

Reg. 6:48 postdated Reg. 6:102.

²⁵⁸ *Decretum Gratiani*, C. 11, q. 3, c. 103.

people from their ranks fell. Their adversaries pursued them from the [city] gate all the way to Sabarym, and they killed those going downhill. The Lord did not hand the city of Hai into the hands of Israel until the people stoned Achar and burned all his possessions.²⁵⁹ Also in Paralippomenon,²⁶⁰ when Josephat, the king of Judah, had entered into friendly relations with Ochozia, the king of Israel, whose deeds were quite evil, and they had constructed ships, which might sail to Tarsus, one reads that Eliezer of Maressa, the son of Dodau, prophesied to Josephat saying, "Because you have had a treaty with Ochozia, the Lord has smitten your works; your ships are destroyed, and they cannot travel to Tarsus."²⁶¹ Moreover, in the Book of Machabees one reads that when Judas marched up against Gorgias, governor of Idumea, with three thousand footsoldiers and four hundred cavalry, it happened that a few of the Jews fell in battle. Afterwards, when Judas wished to lay the bodies of the slain in their family tombs, he discovered underneath the tunics of the slain items from the temple treasure chambers of idols, which had been at Iampnia and which the Law forbids to Jews. Therefore it was made clear to all why those who perished had fallen.²⁶²

Lest, however, you lack food, we will write to our beloved son in Christ, the emperor of Constantinople, that, just as he promised us in his letter,²⁶³ he make sure that food is supplied you. If, perchance, it happen that these supplies are denied you, because you have sworn yourselves to the public service of the Crucified One, to whom the land and its fullness belong (the world and all who live in it), in no way is it absurd to draw an analogy with the earthly emperor, for whom there exists a

²⁵⁹ Josh 7:1-25; 8:1-29.

²⁶⁰ More correctly Paralipomenon—the name given The Bible's Book of Chronicles in the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate.

²⁶¹ 2 Chron 20:35-37.

²⁶² 2 Macc 12:32-42.

²⁶³ The only known letter in which Alexius III offered aid to the Holy Land is his fourth letter to the pope, composed probably in the autumn of 1201. In that letter, which is now lost but whose contents are known through Innocent's reply, the emperor sought to have the pope compel the king of Jerusalem to return Cyprus to the empire. In return, he promised to aid the Holy Land by extending help to the king and to the Hospitallers and Templars. The pope's response is now extant only in the *Gesta Innocentii III.*: Gress-Wright, 109-111; PL 214: cxxiii-cxxv.

provision in civil law.²⁶⁴ If his army lacks food, it may take it anywhere. And you may, without hurting people and with fear of the Lord and the intention of making reparation, take such items when facing a similarly great need. For one also reads in the Book of Judges that when Gideon heatedly pursued Zebah and Zalmunna, the Median kings, and had requested, first from the men of Sukkoth and then from the inhabitants of Penuel, bread for the people who had come with him and who were now almost cleaned out, because they refused what he had requested, when he returned victorious he brought desert thorns and thistles to the elders of the city of Sukkoth and ground them up with them, and he also crushed the men of Sukkoth. He also destroyed the tower of Penuel, killing the inhabitants of the city.²⁶⁵ For necessity, especially when one is occupied in necessary work, excuses much in many situations.²⁶⁶ For when the Lord passed through crop fields on the Sabbath and His disciples wanted some grains and ate them, rubbing them in their hands, some Pharisees called out to the disciples, "Why are you doing what is not allowed on the Sabbath?" One reads that Jesus answered them,²⁶⁷ "Have you not read what David did when he and those with him were hungry: how David came into the house of the Lord, took up the loaves of offering, which no one other than the priests was allowed to eat, ate them, and gave them to those with him?" And He further added that the Son of Man is also Lord of the Sabbath.²⁶⁸ But both this affair and the battle of the Lord that you intend to wage are the business of the Son of Man. We have drawn these examples from holy scriptures not as a way

²⁶⁴ Professor John C. Moore finds the basis of this legal principle in the Roman right of *angaria* as articulated in the *Corpus iuris civili*, Cod. 10.27.1, Cod. 10.48.1 and 2, and elsewhere: Andrea/Moore, "Character. Less convincingly, Hageneder et al. note that this probably is an interpretation of Novelle 130.1 and especially 130.2 in the *Corpus iuris civilis: Register Innocenz III.*, 6:167, n. 8.

²⁶⁵ Judg 8:4-17.

²⁶⁶ See Donald E. Queller's commentary on this phrase in *FC'*, 79-80, wherein he argues that "the argument from necessity is dubious and fraught with danger for any meaningful moral code. By judicious editing, Thomas F. Madden greatly softens Queller's judgment in *FC'*, 91.

²⁶⁷ Register, 6:168, reads *ei*, whereas PL 215:109 has the correct *eis*. The previous sentence demands the plural dative here. I assume *ei* is a misprint.

²⁶⁸ Lk 6:1-5.

of countenancing rapine but as a way of tolerating what, in the face of grave necessity, cannot be avoided without serious loss.

However, you should prudently and cautiously be prepared. If the Venetians should, perhaps, devise any pretexts for breaking up the army, take care to overlook and tolerate much for a while until you shall have arrived at your destination, where, seizing the opportunity, you might suppress their malice, insofar as it is expedient.

Reg. 6:130

10 August 1203

This letter to Cardinal Soffredo shows a side of Innocent III all too often overlooked by historians—the compassionate counselor. The tone and message of this morale-boosting letter strongly suggest that what we read here are the pope's sentiments largely, if not completely, articulated in his own words. Innocent had received a now-lost letter from the cardinal legate, in which Soffredo complained about the dangers of his sea journey and the problems that faced him in the Holy Land. Little did Cardinal Soffredo know that his troubles would be compounded in August. During the dog days of August, just about the time that the pope was composing his consoling reply, Acre was hit by a devastating epidemic that carried off large numbers of its inhabitants.²⁶⁹ It spared, however, Soffredo and his colleague Peter Capuano.

Of special interest to us is the reference to the rumor of the crusade army's diversion to Greece. Apparently Cardinal Soffredo had reported his dismay over the rumor. Inasmuch as he composed his letter to Rome before Cardinal Peter's arrival at Acre (as his apparent inquiry after Peter's whereabouts suggests), it is reasonable to conclude that word of the army's decision to travel to Constantinople had already reached the Holy Land by early spring 1203. The pope's reaction to this rumor—a rumor, as we have seen, that he had already heard—also merits attention. It seems that by August 1203 Innocent concluded that the course of the crusade was totally out of his control—at least for the moment.

²⁶⁹ Gunther of Pairis, *HC in Orth*, 131-132 (Andrea, *Capture*, 86-88 and 159 note 119).

To Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede, legate of the Apostolic See:

We do not at all wonder and we are not disturbed if, at some time in this great and vast sea, where reptiles beyond number and also beasts, both large and small, quite frequently terrify sailors, the mind of Your Prudence is shaken by fear of dashing waves and surging winds, because everyone at sea is afraid. Indeed, the very Prince of the Apostles, to whom it had been granted by the Lord to come to Him by walking over the waves of the sea, upon seeing a strong wind coming up not only became afraid but almost drowned, had it not been for the divine right hand that pulled him up.²⁷⁰

For here the world ebbs and flows like the sea, and it is not easy for someone to avoid being driven hither and thither in the ebb and flow, or for him, who does not stay in the same place, to remain unmoved in it, especially when there are even invisible enemies, who, invisibly on their part and visibly through the visible enemies whom they dispatch, endeavor not merely to terrify to the core but to bring down those who put a hand to strong things²⁷¹ and those, forgetful of what is to come, continually exert themselves on past matters.²⁷² Doubtlessly, had you been of the world, the world would have loved that which, perchance, was its own, so that all mundane things would come to you, and your appetite would lack nothing. Indeed, because you are not of the world, you do not chase after mundane things, since they are not what you desire. Rather, you desire the things of Jesus Christ. You do not seek after your own glory but after that of the Cross or, more correctly, of the Crucified One. Along with the Apostle, you cry out, although not outwardly with your voice but inwardly with your mind: "I have no glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁷³ The world despises you, and him whom it cannot reconcile to itself through good fortune it labors to disturb through adversities. Neither we nor you should marvel if, after

²⁷⁰ Mt 14:25-31.

²⁷¹ Cf. Prov 31:10-31, especially 19; this is a reference to the perfect wife who cares for her family.

²⁷² Cf. Lk 9:62; this is a reference to the foolish plowman, who, by looking back, does not merit the kingdom of God.

²⁷³ Gal 6:14.

having been specially deputed in service to the Cross and having been settled in the land of the crucifiers,²⁷⁴ you are crucified mentally and physically. When the messenger of the Cross is not beyond crucifixion then he has empathy for the weakness of his fellow humans and he grieves over the state of the despised Crucified One. Moreover, Moses himself, who led the people out of Egypt and raised a serpent in the desert,²⁷⁵ endured the complaints of his people and suffered the deceits of his enemies, and a satanic angel was appointed to torment the Apostle who gloried in the Cross, lest the magnitude of his revelations puff him up.²⁷⁶ Because, indeed, each will receive wages in accordance with the work done, and because the sufferings of this moment cannot be compared with the glory to come, which will be revealed in us, you should not retreat in the midst of excessive labors or despair in the midst of burdens that you bear almost alone in those regions, but rather be consoled in Him who consoles us in our every tribulation, as you have read Him to have said: "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you."²⁷⁷ Nor should you be unaware that no one will be crowned who has not duly fought the fight. If, therefore, you grieve because the Lord's house has been turned into a den of thieves and our inheritance—in fact, more correctly, that of Jesus Christ—has been turned over not only to strangers but also to enemies of the Catholic faith, in this you imitate Him, who declares through the prophet regarding His very self, "Devotion to your house consumes me,"²⁷⁸ and this clearly refers to his own inheritance. If you grieve that Saracens occupy the land of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection, defile its temple, and, without fear of punishment as it were, shed the blood of the saints, who are followers in the footsteps of him who cries out in the psalm, "O God, the heathen have invaded Your patrimony; they have defiled Your temple"²⁷⁹ (**and the rest that follows**),²⁸⁰ if you mourn that princes and others who had as-

²⁷⁴ It is unclear whether he means Jews or Muslims or both.

²⁷⁵ Num 21:9.

²⁷⁶ 2 Cor 12:7.

²⁷⁷ Mt 11:28.

²⁷⁸ Jn 2:17.

²⁷⁹ Ps 79 (78):11.

²⁸⁰ A scribal note. To save space, the scribe did not copy the rest of this biblical

sumed the badge of the Cross seem to have neglected the relics of the Holy Land²⁸¹ (like the sons of Ephraim, benders of the bow and shooters of arrows, who had a change of heart on the day of battle and abandoned the purity of their earlier intention),²⁸² you will mourn, equally with us and with Him who upbraids them through the prophet when He says, "The sons whom I nourished and raised, these have scorned me."²⁸³ And they claim to follow you who protects even from "friends" the forsaken city of God²⁸⁴ in the midst of difficult circumstances.²⁸⁵ Therefore, may this sorrow be a matter of joy for you, and may sadness be turned to delight. Do not grieve if not everything comes to you as desired, even though you overlook no contingencies. You should also be happy if you are momentarily made weary in the cause of Him who, as the Apostle declares, emptied Himself for us insofar as He was made into the likeness of men and took on the human condition,²⁸⁶ and if, for everything that He bestowed on you, you also drink from the cup from which He had drunk, because He tasted the cup of the Passion for you.

We, however, not only His unworthy vicar but also His ineffectual servant, do share your suffering and feel your pain, and we intend to lighten your burdens, insofar as we can, and we are not unmindful of you or of the remnants²⁸⁷ of the land of the Lord's birth, although because of the distance and a small number of messengers we are not able to contact you more often by means of messengers and letters. You should not despair that the army of crusaders is said to have diverted to Greece since we, as much as we are able, wish to aid the Holy Land, and we aspire to assist it with every effort. We also want you to know that although our beloved son Peter, cardi-

quotation.

²⁸¹ Possibly an indictment of the army of the Fourth Crusade but more likely a stinging reference to the princes of Outremer.

²⁸² Ps 78 (77):9-10.

²⁸³ Is 1:2.

²⁸⁴ Jerusalem.

²⁸⁵ A damning indictment of the petty internecine wars among the Latin inhabitants of the crusader states.

²⁸⁶ Phil 2:7.

²⁸⁷ The remnants that remain in Christian hands. See Reg. 2:258 (270).

nal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, was not able to cross the sea with the Venetians, nevertheless he departed from our presence before Advent²⁸⁸ so that, when we received a letter from Your Piety,²⁸⁹ he might board a ship in order to cross the sea.²⁹⁰

Additionally, by studying the letters that we have sent on this subject, you will be able to see what we have decided should be done regarding the matter of the church of Tyre.²⁹¹ Issued at Ferentino on the third day before the Ides²⁹² of August.

Reg. 6:208 (209)
23 January 1204

Sometime after dispatching his letter to Cardinal Soffredo, the pope received word directly from Peter Capuano regarding his arrival in the Holy Land and many other important items of crusade business, including information regarding the crusade army's diversion to Constantinople. Apparently Cardinal Peter remained in touch with the army, despite the distance that separated them. Additionally, the cardinal legate requested papal guidance.

The pope's response to the cardinal's now-lost dispatch was a papal letter of 23 January 1204. It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding the army's diversion to Constantinople, both the pope and Cardinal Peter still expected the crusaders, including the excommunicated Venetians, to continue their journey toward the Holy Land. Regarding the issue of whether or not the legate could legitimately communicate with the Venetians, the pope gave Peter essentially the same advice he had given the Frankish princes in the

²⁸⁸ The First Sunday of Advent 1202 fell on 1 December.

²⁸⁹ Apparently the pope and Cardinal Peter awaited a letter from Soffredo prior to Peter's departure from Italy.

²⁹⁰ Peter probably had not left the West until around 25 April and had arrived in the Holy Land sometime in the very late spring of 1203. See note 197.

²⁹¹ Among the bishops of the Latin kingdom, the archbishop of Tyre was second only to the patriarch of Jerusalem in authority. Despite friction between Archbishop-elect Clarembald and Cardinal Soffredo regarding their respective spheres of authority, Innocent was determined to shore up and support the archbishopric, due to its troubles: Regs. 6:131-134 in *Register Innocenz III.*, 6:221-225.

²⁹² In the Roman calendar, the Ides was the thirteenth day for all months except March, May, July, and October, for which it was the fifteenth day.

Letter of Advice of June 1203. Perhaps significantly, even though the Frankish crusaders had once again violated the pope's often-articulated prohibition against attacking Christians—a prohibition that carried with it the sanction of excommunication, as he had reminded the crusade leaders in Reg. 6:101—Innocent still referred to these soldiers as “the Christian army.” Was he prepared to overlook this second offense in the interest of promoting a successful crusade?

To Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, legate of the Apostolic See:

We rejoice that, under the governance of the Lord, the wind and the sea were made tranquil during your voyage, and He who pulled up Saint Peter as he was walking on the waves, lest he drown,²⁹³ led you, following your transit of the sea, to the desired port,²⁹⁴ that in our name you strengthened our brothers and fellow bishops on Cyprus,²⁹⁵ and by correcting those things among them that needed correcting, you planted things that you had known would further the glory of the Divine Name, the progress of the Christian faith, the honor of the Apostolic See, and the well-being of these people,²⁹⁶ and that the war has been ended that had broken out at Acre between the Pisans and the Genoese, between whom you established a truce (not without a good deal of worry and work).²⁹⁷ We have also paid thanks to Him, without whom neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything and from whom comes every

²⁹³ Mt 14:28-31.

²⁹⁴ Acre.

²⁹⁵ Although Innocent's letter seems to imply that Peter first sailed to Acre before turning to Cyprus and its issues, such an itinerary makes little sense, insofar as Cyprus was a natural and usual stopping-off point on the route to the Holy Land. It makes more sense to conclude that Cardinal Peter stopped off in Cyprus on his way to Acre, although he might have stayed there but a short while and later continued his work on Cypriote matters through envoys and letters.

²⁹⁶ Captured by Richard I of England in 1191 and then sold to Guy of Lusignan, former king of Jerusalem, the island of Cyprus was culturally Byzantine and its Church was Eastern Orthodox. Under Innocent and his successors, the Roman Church pursued a vigorous policy of subordinating the Cypriote Church to papal authority and Roman canon law: Joseph Gill, “The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196-c. 1280,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977): 73-93. For Peter's role, see Maleczek, *Petrus*, 171-173; *Pietro*, 176-179.

²⁹⁷ Maleczek, *Petrus*, 179; *Pietro*, 187.

choicest present and every perfect gift and who also does not abandon us when our strength fails but directs our steps and renders deeds acceptable to Himself. We also commend your devotion to the Lord, namely that you laudably strive to execute the duties of the legation laid upon you, sparing neither your person nor your goods, with the result that the people whom you encounter, upon seeing your good works, glorify your Father who is in Heaven, and in you they humbly revere the Roman Church. Moreover, we have received the letter that Your Devotion sent us, seemly in its courtesy, and we have diligently noted those items that you reported therein: the progress of the Christian army: the business regarding the empire of Constantinople; the status of the province of Jerusalem; the Christian messengers sent to Safadin;²⁹⁸ and other matters.

Indeed, because you are uncertain, you faithfully seek our advice on this issue: Seeing that you were appointed to aid the crusaders, if the army should arrive in the territories of Jerusalem or if you should go to it, could you legitimately communicate with the Venetians, who thus far remain excommunicated, inasmuch as you would be unable to avoid them without doing scandal—considering that recently their messengers were likewise scandalized because you refused to deal with them when they had come to you? We will answer you briefly. You should urge and exhort the doge and the Venetians that, to the extent that they repent what they have done, they seek the benefit of absolution in accordance with the formula prescribed by the Church. If, perchance, they should be disposed to persist in their obstinacy, we would be disposed to leaving it to you who, because you are there, can better evaluate what the Eastern province needs, the circumstances relating to negotiations, and the qualities of the people, with the result that you might act in this matter without the stigma of sin because

²⁹⁸ Sultan al-'Adil Sayf-al-Din (r. 1200-1218), Saladin's brother. The editors of *Register Innocenz III* hypothesize that this is a reference to the message that the crusade leaders sent the sultan following the July capture of Constantinople: 6:354, note 6. This message is mentioned in Hugh of Saint Pol's letter to R. de Balues (see below) and also in the letter the crusade leaders sent to Otto IV—largely the same letter as Reg. 6:210 (211): W. Prevenier, ed., *De Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1964, 1971), 2:538-542, no. 259. See below note 328.

you will have come to understand more fully how to untangle the matter.²⁹⁹ For there is also a provision in the law that if anyone travels through the land of heretics or of any excommunicates, he may communicate with them in buying and receiving necessities, and a family is excused when it comes to communication with an excommunicated head of the household; also necessity, especially when one is occupied in necessary work, excuses much in many situations. For when the Lord, as we know you have read in the Gospel, passed through crop fields on the Sabbath and His disciples wanted some grains and ate them, rubbing them in their hands, some Pharisees called out to the disciples, "Why are you doing what is not allowed on the Sabbath?" One reads that Jesus answered them, "Have you not read what David did when he and those with him were hungry: how he entered the house of the Lord, took up the loaves of offering, which no one other than the priests was allowed to eat,³⁰⁰ and gave them to those with him?" And He further added "And the Son of Man is also Lord of the Sabbath. But this business is that of the Son of Man. It follows that if due to some urgent necessity you must communicate with the Venetians, to the point that you cannot avoid them without serious scandal and substantial cost, you need have no fear whatsoever on that account because you have been made safe from the stigma of sin by our indulgence.

We, therefore, instruct Your Discretion and carefully exhort and command you through this Apostolic letter to so execute the legation of Christ, in which you are engaged and for which you have denied your very self to such a degree, that you attain glory for now and an eternal reward in the future and so that we will be possessed to more fully direct our

²⁹⁹ The following advice seems proof positive that Reg. 6:102 could not have been composed before Reg. 6:48 of April 1203. Otherwise the pope would have given Cardinal Peter this advice then rather than now in January 1204. John C. Moore, who strongly and consistently has advocated a June date for 6:102, has been less emphatic in private correspondence. He notes that there is an outside chance, however unlikely, that, although Innocent had dealt with the question maybe as early as February 1203, the question of communicating with the Venetians had not come up before in his dealings with Peter, until Peter wrote inquiring about the issue.

³⁰⁰ Reg. 6:102 adds "ate them."

thoughts to your honor from day to day.

Issued at Anagni on the ninth day before the Kalends of February.

Reg. 6:209 (210)

25 August 1203

About the time that Innocent was sending his letter to Cardinal Peter, three letters arrived from Constantinople. One of them, a letter from Doge Dandolo that attempted to defend Venetian actions at Zara,³⁰¹ no longer exists in known form. The first of the two surviving letters to be enregistered was composed on 25 August 1203 in the name of the young Alexius, who now reigned as Alexius IV (r. 1203-1204), coemperor with his restored father, Isaac II. In his letter Alexius briefly outlined the means whereby he and his father had been restored to imperial power, and then he turned to issues near to Innocent's heart. First he expressed his willingness to recognize the pope as the ecclesiastical head of Christendom, *but* he did so in a rather vague manner, promising "every devotion to you and your canonically elected successors that our imperial Catholic predecessors are known to have shown from ancient times to your predecessors. One wonders what the young emperor thought those words meant. Alexius also promised to work, with all his might, toward *in uencing* (my emphasis) the Eastern Church to do the same.

Given the history of papal-Byzantine relations, Innocent's own years of frustrating negotiations with Alexius III, and Alexius IV's ties with Philip of Hohenstaufen, these ambiguous promises could not have made the pope very sanguine.

To the Most Holy Father and Lord, Innocent, by the grace of God Chief Priest, Alexius, faithful emperor in Christ crowned by God, ruler of the Romans, and ever Augustus: devoted obedience with filial reverence:

How much the Lord has done for me in these days in accordance with His mercy! It has been my assumption that the principal [gift] must be made clear to Your Holiness, who is

³⁰¹ See the pope's answer of 25 February 1204: Reg. 7:18.

recognized to occupy the place on Earth of Him in whose hands are the powers of all people and the laws of all kingdoms. Your Holiness knows full well that with a parricide³⁰² committed against a brother, the imperial throne was occupied and polluted for a long while, and I myself evaded his detestable tyranny through fortunate exile. In that exile it was given to me from Heaven to see Your Apostolic Person,³⁰³ but it had not escaped your hearing that the blessed band of pilgrims, hating the cruelty of an unheard-of crime, had begun, with fraternal love or rather paternal compassion, to lighten my exile and support a cause which was, indeed, most just but seemed hopeless in human eyes. And now my deliverance in their hands, as well as that of my father, has been made successful by the Lord. Released from prison, the head of this very man, my illustrious father, appeared graced with imperial insignias (as is fitting), and I having been restored, the crown of empire due me was put on my head with solemnity, as the detestable parricide, who had deposed the highest office³⁰⁴ of the empire with the hatching of unheard-of tyranny, slipped away in flight during the night. He certainly had so polluted with poisonous speeches the royal city, which sighed for us, that he declared the Latins (those men who labored to restore the place and people to Your Apostleship and brought me along even to the displeasure of [their] friends) came to subvert ancient public freedom. By virtue of his zealous resistance, Latinity had commenced a totally unforeseen task.³⁰⁵ One factor, I confess, especially disposed the hearts of the pilgrims to our aid: By spontaneous promise under the sworn oath of the Christian religion we devoutly promised that we would humbly recognize the ecclesiastical head of all Christendom, namely the Roman Pontiff, the Catholic successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and we would, with all our might, lead the Eastern Church to him if Divine Mercy should restore the throne due us, knowing full well that tremendous honor and advantage should accrue to the empire

³⁰² I.e. the deposition of a "father" emperor.

³⁰³ Reg. 5:121 (122).

³⁰⁴ *Fasces*.

³⁰⁵ Namely, to attack a city that the crusaders thought would offer no resistance.

and eternal glory to our name if the Lord's seamless tunic should regain its unity in our time and through our efforts. And indeed, as was said, we promised this under oath to your pilgrims, and we fully desire to acknowledge the same to Your Paternity: We promise in the present letter every devotion to you and your canonically elected successors that our imperial Catholic predecessors are known to have shown from ancient times to your predecessors, those orthodox fathers, the Roman Pontiffs. We equally promise that, since the opportunity has been granted us by the Lord to be saved, we will prudently and with all our might influence³⁰⁶ the Eastern Church toward the same end. On this issue we desire to rely upon the advice of Your Prudence. We have been led to the aforementioned especially through the wholesome advice and admonitions of the venerable fathers: Bishops Nivelon of Soissons, Conrad of Halberstadt,³⁰⁷ and Garnier of Troyes,³⁰⁸...the abbot of Lucedio,³⁰⁹ and Master John of Noyon.³¹⁰ Issued in the royal city³¹¹ on the seventh day before the Kalends of September.

Reg. 6:210 (211)
Ca. 25 August 1203

The crusade leaders sent a companion letter, which, although undated in the register, was surely penned around the same time—late August 1203.³¹² It was one of three essentially similar, still-extant letters that the barons sent to the West more or less simultaneously, the other two being addressed to King Otto IV of Germany and to "all the Christian faithful."³¹³ The letter to King Otto survived by

³⁰⁶ *Inclinabimus* (we will bend). Was this an acknowledgement that any emperor's control over the Byzantine Church and its people was far less than absolute?

³⁰⁷ Andrea, "Conrad," 35-41.

³⁰⁸ Bishop of Troyes (r. 1193-1205) and second-ranking prelate with the army: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 13-15.

³⁰⁹ Peter (see note 85).

³¹⁰ See Reg. 5:161 (162), note 188.

³¹¹ Constantinople.

³¹² Hageneder et al., *Register Innocenz III.*, 6:358, date the letter to ca. 25 August 1203, a date with which I agree; Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:534, dates it to early August.

³¹³ The best editions are in Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:538-545, nos. 259-260.

virtue of being incorporated into Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum* (*The Chronicle of the Slavs*),³¹⁴ whereas the letter to all Western Christians survives in a single Spanish manuscript.³¹⁵ How many copies of this latter letter were sent westward is anyone's guess, and we also have no way of knowing whether additional, now lost letters were sent to other Western recipients, such as King Philip of Hohenstaufen, Otto IV's rival for the German crown, Alexius IV's brother-in-law, and one of the chief agents behind the diversion to Constantinople. It seems likely, however, because clearly the crusaders were seeking support from all elements in the West for their unprecedented actions. Inasmuch as the postscripts to the letters to King Otto and to the Christian West have relevance to two versions of Count Hugh of Saint Pol's contemporary report to friends in the West, these closing paragraphs are here appended to the version received and recorded at the papal court. There is no evidence that Innocent or his chancery ever saw any versions of the letter other than the one set down in the register.

In their letter to the pope, the crusade nobles provided an account of their taking of Constantinople on 18 July 1203 and reconferred and expanded upon the promises that Alexius IV had made to them. It worth noting that throughout the letter they maintained the fiction that Alexius the Younger had been elected legitimate emperor prior to their escorting him back home. Whether or not they believed this story is another matter. Also noteworthy is their claim that, once the usurper fled, the city joyously received back its exiled emperor. Just as significant, nowhere in this letter (or in Alexius IV's letter) is there any mention of Isaac II's restoration to the imperial throne and of the fact that Alexius IV was only coemperor. Possibly it was deemed wise to refrain from mentioning this fact, inasmuch as Isaac II had proved to be such a thorn in the side of the Third Crusade and was not noted for his love of the Latins.³¹⁶

How much the Lord has done for us — on the contrary, not for us but for His Name — how much glory he has bestowed in

³¹⁴ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum libri VII*, J. M. Lappenberg, ed., MGH Script. rer. Germ., 14:241-245.

³¹⁵ Bibl. Munic. Valenciennes, MS no. 482, folios 133r^o-135r^o.

³¹⁶ Brand, *Byzantium*, 174-188.

these days, we will briefly narrate as much as we can. We first note in this introduction that, following the time of our departure from that city of transgression (for so we call Zara, whose ruin we viewed with sorrow, but we were driven by necessity), we cannot remember anything in our company that commonly related to the army's advantage being in proper order. Yet, Divine Providence changed the situation for the better and, taking everything upon Itself, it turned our wisdom to foolishness. Hence it follows that, regarding those things gloriously effected in our company, we rightly reject all glory for ourselves. In fact, we contributed little to the deeds wrought and nothing to the plan. Therefore, it is necessary that, if anyone of us wishes to be glorified, he be glorified in the Lord and not in himself or in another.

The Treaty of Zara was established with Alexius, son of Isaac the former illustrious emperor of Constantinople, when, lacking all foodstuffs and supplies, we appeared to be bearing a burden to the Holy Land (as was the case with others of our company who had gone before us) rather than bringing some sort of aid, and when we did not believe that, given such extreme poverty, we could effectively land in the territory of the Saracens. Therefore, persuaded by believable rumors and arguments that the stronger city faction (and the bulk of the empire) longed for the arrival at the royal court of the aforementioned Alexius, whom it had elevated to the imperial crown with due solemnity following a harmonious election,³¹⁷ we fortunately (above and beyond all our hopes) arrived at the royal city in a brief span of time, for contrary to the usual temper of the season, with a favorable breeze blowing, the winds and sea obeyed the Lord.

But we had not arrived unexpectedly. We discovered in the city up to 60,000 knights, in addition to infantry. Rushing across the most secure points, bridges, towers, and rivers without loss to our men, we besieged by land and sea both the city and the tyrant who, by committing parricide against a brother, had polluted the imperial high office, which he illegit-

³¹⁷ Note that the barons claim that they had heard believable rumors that Alexius (IV) was supported by the stronger faction in Constantinople and also that he had already been elected emperor by his supporters.

imately held for so long. Therefore, contrary to the opinion of all,³¹⁸ we discovered the minds of all the citizens firmly set against us and, likewise, the city closed off to its lord by walls and war machines, as though an infidel people, who proposed to despoil the sacred places and inexorably eradicate the Christian religion, had drawn near. So, indeed, the exceedingly cruel usurper of his lord's throne and the bereaver and betrayer of an imperial brother, who had condemned the same man to perpetual incarceration, despite the absence of a crime, this very man who would have done likewise to Alexius, the son of this illustrious man (if fortunate exile had not snatched him from his hands), having beforehand called an abominable meeting with the people, infected both the aristocrats and the plebs with venomous harangues to the point that he asserted the Latins had come to destroy their ancient liberty, and they were hastening to return the place and its people to the Roman Pontiff and to subjugate the empire to the laws of the Latins. Certainly this story moved and, in equal measure, mobilized³¹⁹ everyone against us to the point that all seemed to have joined in an oath simultaneously against us and our exile. Therefore time and again we requested through our messengers, indeed, through this man, our exile, and through our barons to be heard out by the citizens, but we did not have the opportunity to explain the reason for our coming or the nature of our quest. Rather, as often as we, from land and sea, offered speeches to those stationed on the wall, just as often we received missiles in the place of words. We realized, therefore, that everything had turned out contrary to our hope. Thrust into this state of necessity to the point that we faced the immediate necessity of either perishing or conquering because, constrained by an incredible scarcity of all foodstuffs, we could not reasonably extend this siege for fifteen days, we began, not out of desperation but out of a certain inspired sense of security from Heaven, to long most readily for battle, to boldly expose ourselves to dangers, and incredibly to prevail in everything. Furthermore, oftentimes when we were drawn up for battle on the field, we conducted an

³¹⁸ Alexius and the crusade leaders who had expected a friendly welcome.

³¹⁹ *Animavit pariter et armavit*: a nice rhetorical flourish.

inestimable multitude in the city, who ignominiously turned tail.³²⁰ Meanwhile, with war machines set in place on land and sea, the city was forcibly entered on the eighth day of the siege.³²¹ A re broke out.³²² The emperor stationed his forces against us on the plain, and we were prepared to intercept those who were advancing. Astounded at our steadfastness (given our small number), he ignominiously turns his reins and retreats into the burning city.³²³ That very night he takes ight with a few followers and abandons his wife and infant daughter.³²⁴ Unknown to us, upon discovering this fact, the Greek nobles assemble in the palace and the solemn election of our exile is celebrated (or rather his restoration is announced), and large numbers of torches in the palace give witness to unexpected joy. With the coming of morning, a large number of Greek nobles come to the camp and joyously seek out the one whom they had elected. They claim that liberty has been restored to the city. With unmeasurable joy, they tell the son, who is returning to the high imperial office, that the person of his father Isaac, the former emperor, has been released from jail. And so, after having arranged ahead of time those things that were perceived to be necessary, the new emperor is led in solemn procession to the church of Sancta Sophia, and the imperial crown, with its fullness of power, is restored to our exile, without any dissent.³²⁵ Once these matters are completed, the emperor³²⁶ hastens to fulfill his promises, and he augments promises with deeds. He offers all of us a year's supply of food for use in the Lord's service. He proceeds to pay us 200,000 marks and, at his own expense, he extends for a year the [contract for] the meet with the Venetians, and he binds

³²⁰ Literally "we confined an inestimable multitude in the city through [their] ignominious ight.

³²¹ 17 July 1203.

³²² Thomas F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople. 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991/1992): 73-74.

³²³ The whole confused and inconclusive battle of 17 July 1203 is vividly described in *FC*², 123-128.

³²⁴ If this was Princess Eudokia, she was hardly an infant. She was the lover of Mourtzouphlos (Marchus of Reg. 7:152).

³²⁵ Alexius IV was solemnly invested on 1 August 1203, the feast of Saint Peter in Chains—a day probably chosen for its symbolism.

³²⁶ Alexius IV.

himself by oath to raise the royal standard with us and to embark with us in March on a voyage in the Lord's service with as many thousands of troops as he can muster. He also includes under that same vow to exhibit the same reverence toward the Roman Pontiff that his predecessors, the Catholic emperors, are known to have accorded his³²⁷ pontifical predecessors in former times, and to move the Eastern Church to this same position, with all his might. And for his entire life he will honorably provide fifty knights with their expenses for service to the Redeemer in the Holy Land.

The version of the letter that the crusader nobles sent to King Otto IV adds the following after “with all his might” and leaves out the last sentence that appears in the letter to Pope Innocent III:

Consequently, inspired by such advantages, lest we seem to spurn the deliverance that the Lord had put into our hands and to turn into eternal shame that which seemed to have brought us incomparable honor, we have decided with ready devotion and have been placed under obligation with ready will, with a sense of purpose (so far as it is in us) that is as certain as it is irrevocable, to cross the sea (God granting it) to the regions of Egypt in the next passage season, after spending the winter in this very place.

And now, if we expect any merit, or thanks, or even glory from those things that have been done or are to be done, we want Your Serenity to be a participant in the Lord, yea even the leader. Meanwhile, we have sent on ahead our envoys to the sultan of Babylon³²⁸, the impious occupier of the Holy Land. They were to announce in a regal manner in the name of the Highest King, Jesus Christ of Nazareth, and of His servants, namely of the aforesaid emperor, and in our name that (God granting it) we propose in the near future to make known to his unbelieving heathen people the devotion of the Christian people, and we expect power from Heaven for the ruination of in delity. Moreover, we have done these things

³²⁷ The pope's.

³²⁸ Al-'Adil Sayf al-Din, sultan of Egypt and Syria, known in the West as Safadin (see note 298). Here *Babylon* means Cairo.

preferring to trust in your power under the Lord and that of all other lovers of the name `Christian, rather than trusting in our power, we who desire that our fellow servants be joined to Him more devoutly and to us more ardently, whereby we will see more and better servants of our King striving with us so that He, Who formerly was handed over to the Jews but then was raised in glory, will not in the future be handed over to the heathens to be mocked.³²⁹

The letter addressed to all the Christian faithful contains all of the above, with minor variations, plus the following:

We have taken care to make known these very matters to our brethren, who await our arrival in the Holy Land, preferring that in every way in the Lord, we and these lovers of the name `Christian become partakers in fraternal union of the consolation that the Lord has given us. We, therefore, humbly implore you, Venerable Fathers, the prelates of churches, that the living and effectual Word of divine exhortation be sprinkled among the peoples, and that you rouse up volunteers for the completion of this precept in the Law, and you manfully instill in them a spirit to seize the glory of the power that the Lord deigns to offer them for very little labor. And we require, as well, that those who hear the Word be also persons who act with ready and virile courage. For a great door has been opened for them, so that a modicum of tribulation and labor will not only make for them a momentary name, but also it will bestow on them an eternal hundredweight of glory. Certainly, the vexing and almost unbearable great mass of hardships that stretched across our backs does not await them, for the power that descends from Heaven has mercifully relieved us of it.³³⁰

Reg. 6:228 (229)
Early February 1204

Around early February 1204 Innocent answered Alexius IV and the crusade barons. The tone of the letter to the new emperor of

³²⁹ Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:541-542, no. 259.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 544-545, no. 260.

Constantinople seems friendly but firm. The letter's parting sentence sums it all up. Without the support of the rock of Saint Peter, he would not be able to stand up to a revolt of his (presumably Greek) enemies. Whether or not this warning carried with it an implied threat is anyone's guess.

To Alexius, Illustrious Emperor of Constantinople:

We have received with paternal affection the letter that Your Imperial Excellency sent us, and we have carefully noted the issues it expressed therein. We rejoice, moreover, in the Lord, and we have rendered thanks to Him, who rules over the kingdom of men and who will give it to whom He wishes, that He has graciously inspired a pious passion in you to the point that you have desired church unity and you have yearned for the member to return to the head and the daughter to return to the mother and the Church of Constantinople, which has for quite some time denied its debt of devotion to the Apostolic See, to show reverence, obedience, and honor to it. So also, even when you were an exile at our court,³³¹ you claimed you desired this with your whole inner being. However, so that you might demonstrate your desire more fully and so that you might better lead, by example rather than by word, the people subject to you to that end, you, who were once an exile and then later elevated, have affirmed by oath that you would render full devotion to us and our successors, just as your predecessors, the Catholic emperors, are known to have rendered from ancient times to our predecessors, the orthodox fathers the Roman Pontiffs. You have likewise affirmed in a promise that, since the opportunity has been presented, you will prudently and, in equal measure, vigorously influence the Eastern Church toward that same end, as you announced to us in your imperial letter. Clearly, if you balance deeds against declarations and follow up with accomplishments what you have promised in words, you will cause God to be well-disposed to you, whom you will be judged to have honored by honoring His bride.³³² In addition to this, because He will set your empire on a foundation of peace, the Apostolic See will take

³³¹ Reg. 5:121 (122).

³³² The Roman Church.

pains to strengthen it effectively. For inasmuch as you were restored to the throne through the aid of the Latins (following divine aid), you ought, not without good reason, to honor the Roman Church, whose sons have so stood by you and which (second to God) will especially be able to bestow on you and the empire of Constantinople needed protection. For we say this, not so that we might ambitiously strive after domination but so that we might dutifully perform a ministry according to the example of Him who came not to be ministered to but to minister, not so that we might dominate the clergy but that we might truly³³³ become an example for the flock,³³⁴ because the princes of the gentiles dominate them, and they who have power among them are called "benefactors. However, such is not the case among Christ's disciples. Rather, he who is greater among them is the servant of everyone and, so to speak, he who would be first must be a servant.³³⁵

We, therefore, advise and exhort Your Imperial Highness before God, that, to the extent that you might be devoted to the Apostolic See, you accomplish what you have sworn to do, lest, perchance, you appear to have voided those things that came from your lips. On the contrary, you should be visibly truthful in regard to your promise and faithful in your oath. If, indeed, your empire is strong in its fear of the Lord and in its reverence for the Apostolic See, it will not waver, as it has thus far wavered. Rather, solidly grounded on that rock from which the Prince of the Apostles received his name "Peter and concerning which the Apostle says, "The rock, however, was Christ,³³⁶ it will firmly stand forever, and the blowing of winds, the rushing of floods, and the dashing of rains will not hold any fear for it.

Otherwise, lest you be ensnared in vain error, we want you to know that not only will you not be able to put down a revolt of your enemies, you will not stand up to them.

Issued at Anagni.

³³³ *Ex animo.*

³³⁴ Cf. 1 Peter 5:3.

³³⁵ Mt 20:25-27; Mk 10:42-44; and especially Lk 22:24-27.

³³⁶ 1 Cor 10:4.

Reg. 6:229 (230)
Early February 1204

If the pope's letter to Alexius was firm but friendly, his letter to the crusade army was stern. Indeed, the tone was set in the salutation, where Innocent wished the army and its leaders "a spirit of wiser counsel," and in the opening sentence, where he suggested that this second diversion might have once again merited them excommunication. In other words, Innocent was not necessarily buying the crusaders' dual argument that everything they did was driven by absolute necessity and out of devotion to the Roman Church. Referring to the oath that they claimed to have secured from Alexius IV, the pope probably reflected the belief of many within his curia when he wrote, "some people firmly believe that you did it to justify yourselves so that through this you might camouflage your digression rather than that the daughter might return to the mother." He then called for more explicit statements and actions from Alexius and the up-to-now silent patriarch of Constantinople as proof of the crusaders' worthy intentions. If Alexius faltered, it would then appear that they had added a second transgression to the first incurred at Zara. He then closed the letter urging the crusaders to repent their sins and persevere in their plan to recover the Holy Land. As he admitted, it was something he longed for more than even the return of the Church of Constantinople.

To the noblemen Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and counts Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of Saint Pol, and the other barons and crusade knights: a spirit of wiser counsel:

Because we fear you are again polluted with the stain of excommunication oh, would that you have not incurred this wound to the faith! we therefore choose as a warning to you "a spirit of wiser counsel" in place of a greeting and blessing. To be sure, as we have learned from your letter, you urged our most beloved son in Christ, Alexius, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople, and procured this same man's binding himself by oath to canonically render full obedience to us and our successors who will follow, just as his predecessors, the Catholic emperors, are known to have rendered from ancient times to our predecessors, the orthodox fathers the Roman

Pontiffs. He likewise affirmed in a promise that, since the opportunity has been presented, he will prudently and, in equal measure, vigorously influence the Eastern Church toward that same end. Nevertheless some people firmly believe that you did it to justify yourselves so that through this you might camouflage your digression rather than that the daughter return to the mother, the member to the head, and the part to the body. Because it is true that deeds afford testimony to the truth, the result that follows will better demonstrate the purpose behind what you have done: namely if the emperor himself acknowledges in a letter patent, which he sends to us by way of permanent testimony, that he has personally furnished an oath of this sort; if he causes the patriarch³³⁷ to recognize, through his appointed envoys, the primacy and *magisterium*³³⁸ of the Roman Church, and to promise reverence and obedience to us, and to request from the Apostolic See a *pallium* taken from the body of Saint Peter,³³⁹ without which the patriarchal office cannot be properly exercised. But if, perchance, he should reject this first beginning of devotion around the start of his promotion and if he should not wish to do what we write, neither will your vision seem to have been unclouded³⁴⁰ nor his intention pure. On the contrary, you will appear to have added a second transgression to the first that you rushed into at Zara, while the weapons that you were believed to have taken up against the enemies of the Cross you turned once again to the ruin of Christians, unless perhaps, to reduce guilt and punishment, you will have taken pains to complete what you had begun regarding the Greek Church out of the zeal that you have for your mother, the Roman Church, toward which they had been unfaithful. Therefore that will be both a true indication of the devotion of the same

³³⁷ John X Camaterus (r. 1198 or 1199-1206): A. J. Andrea, "Latin Evidence for the Accession Date of John X Camaterus, Patriarch of Constantinople," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973): 354-358. See also note 124 above.

³³⁸ The authority to teach religious doctrine.

³³⁹ Regarding the *pallium*, see note 201 above. *Pallia* were blessed and stored in the crypt beneath the high altar of Saint Peter's, where the body of the saint was believed to be buried.

³⁴⁰ Mt 6:22; Lk 11:34. *Oculus...simplex*: unclouded by self-interest. Another way of translating this is "neither will you seem to have viewed things honestly." See note 341.

emperor and clear proof of your guilelessness.³⁴¹

Although we ought otherwise wish that through your exertion and solicitude the Church of Constantinople might return to devotion to and reverence for the Apostolic See, nevertheless, because we long with a greater intensity for the relief of the Holy Land, lest support for it, postponed thus far, be delayed further, we instruct all of you and exhort you in the Lord, and order you through this Apostolic letter to make amends for the stains of your sins with tears of repentance so that you might be restored to unity with the Church. Purged, thus, of the blemish of your crimes, you might praiseworthy fight the Lord's battle just as you first intended in your innermost being to do it with purity of heart and body. Therefore, you are to pursue the recovery of the Holy Land with all your might because it will be most important for you, meritorious in the eyes of God, and glorious in the eyes of humanity. On our part, with the Lord's granting it, we will strive to make effectual provision for what seems to us to be advantageous to this land.

Dated as above.

Reg. 6:230 (231)
Early February 1204

About this same time, Innocent dispatched two letters to the bishops of Soissons and Troyes—letters that differ significantly in tone and content from one another. The first and shorter of these, *Reg. 6:230 (231)*, only vaguely and indirectly refers to the fact that the crusaders might have once again incurred the ban of excommunication. Instead, after acknowledging the bishops' undoubted desire to see the Latin and Greek Churches reunited, Innocent returned to the theme that the crusaders' zeal for church unity seem-

³⁴¹ Here he uses the same word *simplicitas* that he uses above in the biblical phrase *oculus...simplex*—“unclouded vision,” thereby returning to the theme of the honesty of their perspective. Originally I translated this as “innocence,” but John C. Moore pointed out that Innocent does not seem to be saying that the actions of Alexius will relieve them of their guilt, which “proof of your innocence” might seem to suggest; to the contrary, the pope goes on to speak of their sins. Moore suggested that Innocent probably had in mind the biblical dictum to be as prudent as serpents and as simple as doves.

ed more feigned than genuine. Had they truly been zealous in this cause, they would have secured a firmer guarantee from Alexius and a clear sign of ecclesiastical submission from the patriarch of Constantinople. Therefore, Bishops Nivelon and Garnier were to see to it that what had begun so poorly ended well. For unless Alexius IV rendered in their presence the complete and unambiguous oath that Innocent required, such an oath would not be easily attained. In that case the two bishops would seem to have consented to another transgression against the pope's direct orders and their crusade vow.

To the bishops of Soissons and Troyes:

We know for certain, confident in the sincerity of your spirit and trusting in the purity of your devotion, that you are attentive to the honor of the Apostolic See and you strive for its advancement and, as it were, special exaltation. For this reason, we have no doubt but that, among your pious wishes, you ardently desire that the Greek Church come back to Rome and that the member return to the head and the daughter to the mother; that there be one flock and one shepherd, and that there be no distinction whatsoever between Latins and Greeks but that they be made one in both the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical unity. Yet, however much so the crusaders might claim that they labored to this end, nevertheless, it seems to other people that what they did they did more so to justify themselves than out of devotion to the Church, so that we would not be clearly agitated with them because of a second transgression, just as we were agitated by the first. For if they had unclouded vision³⁴² and labored mainly for ecclesiastical unity, they would have devotedly and effectively seen to it that the emperor sent his envoys to us with a letter patent in which he acknowledges what he swore (as he is said to have sworn). They also would arrange that the patriarch acknowledge through his envoys and a letter the *magisterium* and primacy of the Apostolic See and, promising in return reverence and obedience equally to the See and to us and our successors, he request from us a *pallium* taken from the body of St. Peter,

³⁴² See Reg. 6:229 (230).

without which neither he nor anyone else can rightly exercise the patriarchal office.

Therefore, we instruct and more so intently exhort Your Fraternity and command you through this Apostolic letter to labor effectively so that what has so far been realized in an inferior manner might be brought to completion. For unless it takes place in your presence, the complete oath or promise that the emperor owes will hardly be obtained easily, and you will appear to have consented to a second transgression, as was the case with the first.

Dated as above.

Reg. 6:231 (230)
Early February 1204

The second letter to the bishops is much more severe in tone. Unlike the other three papal letters to Constantinople of early February, this one reviews how Innocent had explicitly forbidden attacks on Christians, how the crusaders had violated that order, how the bishops had improperly absolved the crusaders after Zara, and how the pope had then explicitly forbidden, under threat of anathema, an attack on Constantinople. It followed, therefore, that many thought the crusaders guilty of perjury for having broken the oath that they had confirmed in Reg. 6:99, and Innocent feared they were once again excommunicated. Given that state of affairs, Innocent ordered the bishops to lead the crusaders to repentance and absolution and to seek absolution for themselves if they had incurred excommunication by consenting to the crusaders' actions. The letter then ends with what might seem a strange allusion to Genesis 9:21-22: The bishops are to see that the crusaders' private parts are not uncovered before strangers, especially Greeks, lest the small spark of devotion that is flickering in Alexius be extinguished.

As John C. Moore has ingeniously suggested,³⁴³ this last admonition is a key to understanding all four papal letters to Constantinople. In his first three letters of early February, Innocent was reluctant to make too much of the crusaders' sins, lest the Greeks be scandalized and lose whatever small spark of devotion to Rome that they had. The pope probably assumed that the letter to the barons

³⁴³ In e-mail correspondence.

and the first letter to the bishops would be shown to Alexius and his patriarch, if for no other reason than to elicit from them the guarantees and actions that he demanded. This second letter to the bishops, however, was for crusader eyes only. The pope was angry and suspicious, and he wanted them to know that, but he also offered the grace of absolution if they repented. After all, he wanted to get on with God's war.

To the same people:

We believe you remember how when long ago you, Brother Soissons, and our beloved son, Master John of Noyon, along with certain others, had come to the Apostolic See in the name of the crusaders, we were quite harsh in receiving you, and we were angry that the army had launched an attack at Zara. Because they had presumed to contravene a prohibition of the Apostolic See which had declared in its letter that all those who might attempt to invade or violate the lands of Christians (unless either they should wickedly impede their journey or another just or necessary cause should, perhaps, arise that would allow them to act otherwise according to the proffered advice of a legate of the Apostolic See) would be bound by the chain of excommunication and denied the indulgence that the Apostolic See granted to the crusaders by that very act they had incurred the sentence of excommunication. Afterwards we declared that the absolution that they believed they had received from you was invalid because no one may utterly remit a sentence of the Apostolic See except by its authority. Wishing, however, to aid them in this time of crisis, we gave orders to our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See, that, either in person or through another discrete man, he was to confer on them the benefit of absolution, once he had received sworn surety from those who had not yet sworn to obey our orders, and once those who had [already] taken the oath were heard to acknowledge that they clearly understood they had so bound themselves by oath. Indeed, among the other things that we commanded to be enjoined on those who were absolved under the obligations of the oath, we remember having made it clear that, abstaining totally in the future from similar actions, they not dare to invade or violate the lands of Chris-

tians, except in the aforementioned cases and under the established terms. Moreover, afterwards, when the counts and barons declared in their letter to us³⁴⁴ that, in accordance with our order, they had obtained the benefit of absolution, and that all the counts and two barons had obligated themselves and their heirs in a letter patent to make amends, in accordance with our order on the issue (for they had incurred the sentence of excommunication at Zara), we expressly noted in the letter that we sent them in return that none of them should rashly utter himself that he is allowed to occupy or prey upon the land of the Greeks, a land as it were that is too little devoted to the Apostolic See and because the emperor of Constantinople usurped the throne by deposing and even blinding his brother, since it is not their business to judge their crimes, and it was not for this that they assumed the sign of the Cross. We ordered them to keep in mind also the aforesaid prohibition, which had been laid upon them under threat of anathema.³⁴⁵ Therefore, although we would have hoped that the Church of Constantinople returned to allegiance to the Roman Church through the zeal and concern of these same men, nevertheless, because we neither wish nor ought to deceive them, we fear they have incurred again the sentence of excommunication, and it seems to many that they are in no way free from the guilt of perjury because they presumed to transgress against that which had been forbidden to them under the obligation of an oath.

Indeed, because we have pastoral concern for their salvation, we instruct Your Fraternity and order you through this Apostolic letter to so urge them by means of advice and encouragement that they take care to procure piously and with true contrition in their hearts the extraordinary benefit of absolution from our legates or from one of the two or from another discrete man whom one or the other of them might decide to delegate for this task. Thus restored to unity with the Church and purged of the stain of their crimes, they might continue in service to Jesus Christ, to whom otherwise, so we believe, they are not pleasing. You also shall have yourselves

³⁴⁴ Reg. 6:99.

³⁴⁵ Reg. 6:101 says "excommunication" not anathema.

absolved in a similar fashion, if you have incurred the blemish of excommunication by consenting to their actions. Moreover, as much as we do not want to restrain the truth, as the truth will set them free,³⁴⁶ you, nevertheless, are to carefully see to it that their private parts are not uncovered before strangers³⁴⁷ and especially Greeks, lest, perhaps, the flicker of devotion that one sees being kindled in that emperor be extinguished at not so much our loss but his.

Dated as above.

Reg. 7:18

25 February 1204

A bit later, on 25 February, Innocent also wrote the doge of Venice in answer to a letter that has not survived. Like his stern letter to the bishops, Innocent reviewed in great detail the Venetians' offenses. He was not willing to accept the Venetians' excuses for those offenses or to overlook or dismiss them lightly. He demanded repentance, but should they show contrition, he was ready and eager to absolve so that they could "press on with full strength toward the recovery of the Holy Land.

To the noble man, the doge of the Venetians, a spirit of wiser counsel:

Continuing in the footsteps of our predecessors, who honored the city of the Venetians in many ways, we have its honor and interests in mind, and we have not proved uncaring³⁴⁸ when it comes to offering our solicitations³⁴⁹ for that city. To the contrary, we have taken care to extend them as much as God and honor allowed us to, as both we ourselves know and, we believe, you remember. Indeed, as much as we greatly favored its profit and gain, much more did we desire that its gain not provoke the disfavor of Him who exalts the humble and humbles the exalted.

³⁴⁶ Jn 8:32.

³⁴⁷ The crusaders' sins and laws: cf. Gn 9:21-22.

³⁴⁸ *Difficiles*: Other possible translations include "uncharitable" and "hard-to-deal-with."

³⁴⁹ *Petitionibus*: "Prayers" does not seem to be the correct translation here.

For Your Nobility knew and the people of Venice knew, just as our most beloved son in Christ, Emeric, illustrious king of the Hungarians, and the nobleman Duke Andrew, his brother, had assumed the sign of the Cross and had proposed to cross the sea in aid of the Holy Land, their progress has been delayed thus far by your obstructions. Moreover, it was not unknown to you and the Venetians how, following the loss of the Holy Land,³⁵⁰ the Apostolic See took under its protection all who might go to the assistance of the Holy Land's remnants³⁵¹ from the day on which they assumed the sign of the Cross to their death or return, and it mandated that their families and possessions remain secure under the sanction of ecclesiastical punishment. We know it also came to your attention that, although this king and his land (because he had assumed the Cross) enjoyed Apostolic protection by authority of the constitution published on this issue by our predecessors,³⁵² nevertheless, because it is normal for one to fear more that which is specifically promised than that which is included in a general promise, he specifically requested a letter specifying our protection and received it as a precaution. Neither could we nor should we deny this to him, lest we be seen to take away from him what was granted to all crusaders. We also believe you knew that, when your envoys, who came to the Apostolic See with the crusaders' envoys, requested that the agreements entered into between you be confirmed,³⁵³ through them we directed an injunction to you and the Venetians: You were not to violate the land of this king in any way.³⁵⁴ In addition, to insure that the Lord's Journey³⁵⁵ would be conducted in reverence³⁵⁶ (lest a bit of leaven corrupt the entire mass), we took care to strictly enjoin in our letter, which we believe came to your attention and that of the Venetians,

³⁵⁰ In 1187.

³⁵¹ I.e. lands still in Latin hands.

³⁵² See Gregory VIII's bull *Audita tremendi* of October or November 1187.

³⁵³ The Treaty of Venice of 1201.

³⁵⁴ Apparently rumors of the Venetians' designs on Zara were circulating in 1201, long before the army began assembling at Venice. This might well be the reason that the Venetians refused to accept Peter Capuano as a papal legate: He came to Venice forewarned of their desire to go to Zara.

³⁵⁵ The crusade.

³⁵⁶ *Timore*: "reverential fear," as in the virtue of "fear of the Lord."

that you not be tempted to invade or violate the lands of Christians, except if they either wrongly impede your journey or another just and³⁵⁷ necessary cause should, perhaps, arise that would allow you to act otherwise according to the proffered advice of the legate of the Apostolic See. Those, indeed, who might presume to act otherwise should know that they are bound by the fetters of excommunication and denied the indulgence that the Apostolic See granted the crusaders.

You and yours, however, held all of this in contempt. After rejecting our legate, you first moved against this very king and arrayed battlefront lines before Zara. Summoning the French forces to your aid, you prevailed upon them to make common cause with you and to pollute their hands with fraternal blood. Therefore, you violently captured and demolished the city. You destroyed churches and overturned altars. In an affront to the Divine Majesty and in contempt of the Roman Church, you committed an outrage that is already notorious throughout almost the entire world. For you did not take up the Cross (or you should have taken it up) in service to Jesus Christ in order to fight Christians but, rather, to fight the children of Hagar,³⁵⁸ the perfidious enemies of this very Cross. However, we refer to these matters for your correction in a spirit of genuine affection because the father corrects the son whom he loves, and God reproves and castigates those whom He loves.

We have, indeed, received the letter of the emperor of Constantinople and your letter, and we have carefully taken note of the points that you expressed therein. Indeed, however much we might hope that the Church of Constantinople returns to devotion to the Apostolic See through your zeal and solicitude, nevertheless, because we are more disposed to desiring aid for the Holy Land and with a view toward seeing that its already delayed relief is not put off any longer, we instruct and exhort Your Nobility in the Lord, and through this Apostolic letter we command you and the Venetians to atone for the blemishes of your sins with tears of repentance after you have returned to unity with the Church. In this way, purged of the stain of your offenses, you can fight the Lord's

³⁵⁷ *Et.* Cf. the conjunctions used in Regs. 5:160 (161), 5:161 (162), and 6:101.

³⁵⁸ The descendants of Ishmael, or the Arabs: Gen 25:12.

battle with purity of heart and body. And you should not take comfort in your numbers, or strength, or because things have turned out well for you up to now. Rather, the more the Lord has granted to you things beyond your due, so much more should you take care to be humble in His eyes, and His patience should lead you to repentance. Thus, after having sought absolution in humility and having received it with devotion, you might press on with full strength toward the recovery of the Holy Land, since it will be best for you and meritorious before God and glorious in human eyes. We, however, with the Lord granting it, will take care to effectively procure what we see to be useful for that land.

Issued at Anagni on the fifth day before the Kalends of March.

Reg. 7:152

After 16 May 1204

Even as Innocent's curia composed those five letters, events at Constantinople raced on toward a climax that the pope and his counselors could never imagine and, certainly, never planned for. On 13 April 1204 the combined land and sea forces of the crusade captured Constantinople by storm, and on 16 May Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut was crowned emperor in Hagia Sophia amidst great ceremony. The Latin empire of Constantinople, which would survive down to 1261, had emerged out of the crises and conflicts of the Fourth Crusade.

Sometime after his coronation, Baldwin I dispatched at least four quite similar letters to the West³⁵⁹ announcing the dramatic turn of events in the East and providing a detailed account of the events that led up to this transferral of empire. The version that arrived in Rome, probably in late October 1204, was preserved as *Reg. 7:152*, and was also incorporated at a slightly later date into the *Gesta Innocentii III*.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ In addition to the letter to the pope, there are three similar surviving letters addressed to Adolph, archbishop of Cologne, to the abbot of Cîteaux and all other abbots of the Cistercian Order, and to "all the Christian faithful." The best editions of these other three letters are in Preuenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:577-603, nos. 272-274.

³⁶⁰ Gress-Wright, 197-208; PL 214: cxli.

The version sent the pope is a finely crafted piece of propaganda filled with biblical allusions, theological niceties, and rhetorical devices—all of it the workmanship of the well-educated clerics in Emperor Baldwin's retinue, who labored with a good deal of success to fashion a letter that could not be easily brushed aside with a blanket denunciation. To call this letter "propaganda" is not to say that its version of the events is disingenuous in the extreme or totally untrue. Indeed, the letter's authors probably deeply believed in what they did and what they wrote, and for that reason alone this letter serves as an excellent source for those who study the motives and inner world of the crusade leadership. Notwithstanding their own conviction of their righteousness, these authors and their emperor also understood how others could view their actions, and they wished to put the best possible face on what they feared others might misperceive as just another example of agrant disobedience, rampant opportunism, vicious fratricide, and a perversion of the crusade vow. So they probably tried to be honest but were not totally candid and complete. For example, they left out of the letter any mention of rape, murder, the sacrilegious looting of churches, and similar crimes, all of which we know from other sources were committed in the sack of the city. At the same time, however, they were quite forthright about the fact that the crusaders killed many Greeks in combat and engaged in the legitimate looting that the rules of medieval warfare allowed.

The letter picks up where the barons' earlier letter of August 1203 left off and, like that previous letter, provides a detailed narrative of events, with vivid descriptions of military tactics and combat. After dealing with the capture of the city, the letter describes Baldwin's election and coronation and then proceeds to stress the past sins of the Greeks—sins that made them unworthy to hold a Christian empire. Baldwin then proclaims his intention to continue on toward the Holy Land and asks the pope to call upon Western Christians of all stations and both sexes to come to Constantinople, with the promise of a papal indulgence for their labors. The implication is clear: Defense of the new Latin empire of Constantinople is the equivalent of a crusade. After inviting the pope to summon and preside over a General Council in Constantinople, the emperor's letter ends by praising the crusading clergy and the doge of Venice for their steadfast support.

To the most holy father and most beloved lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff by the grace of God, Baldwin, by the same grace emperor and ever Augustus of Constantinople, count of Flanders and Hainaut, his knight, with the pious desire of constant obedience kisses his feet:

Since, with the zeal of paternal solicitude and with a special love for our community in and of itself, Your Holiness desires to know those things that are happening around us, we have decided that we should make it clear to you, in the sequence in which they took place, how Divine Clemency has performed a wondrous turn of events round about us and how, indeed, it will bestow not upon us but upon His Name awe-inspiring glory for all the ages. Round about us even more miraculous events always follow after His miracles so that there can be no doubt, even among the unbelievers,³⁶¹ but that the hand of the Lord guided all of these events, since nothing that we hoped for or previously anticipated occurred, but then, finally, the Lord provided us with new forms of aid, inasmuch as there did not seem to be any viable human plan.

And, indeed, if memory serves us well, we presented in the letter that was dispatched to Your Paternity a narrative of our progress and status up to that point when: the populous city was violently captured by a few people; the tyrant had fled; and, with Alexius, the son of Isaac crowned, we promised and arranged to delay [our departure] through the winter so that, should any people seem to resist Alexius, they might be effectually repressed.

And now we briefly pick up the story of those events that later took place around us, after first noting that, just as these were not the deeds of humans but of God that we meted out to the Greeks, so they were the deeds not of humans but of demons that Greece, with a new Greek emperor and with its usual peridy in all matters, rendered unto us. Indeed, lest a foreign setting different from our way of life provide fuel to the discord between us and the Greeks, we left the city at the request of the emperor and set up camp across the harbor

³⁶¹ *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:253, reads *in delibus*, whereas PL 215:447 and Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:566, have the correct *in delibus*.

from the city.³⁶² But, with an unexpected turn of mind, either out of innate malice or else seduced by the treachery of the Greeks, he abandons us — he upon whom we had conferred so many benefits. The emperor, a perjurer and liar in regard to all of the promises that he made to us (along with his father, the patriarch, and the majority of the nobility), incurs perjury for each and every oath he swore to us. Whereupon now forsaking our aid, he vainly contemplates doing battle against us and seeks to burn the fleet that had led and raised him to the throne, but with God defending us, he is denied his very cruel desire.³⁶³ His situation deteriorates in every respect, and slaughter, conflagration, and rapine are visited upon his people. With conflicts looming outside, he is inwardly seized with fears that, with the Greeks seizing this opportunity to prepare a rival emperor against him,³⁶⁴ he will have no recourse to our aid.

And so, with his sole hope of escape resting on us, he sends to our army a certain man named Marchus, who is sworn to him and related by blood, whom he trusted above all others because of the favors bestowed upon him.³⁶⁵ By his own oath and that of the emperor, this man promises us the Blachernae Palace³⁶⁶ as security until everything promised us is delivered.

³⁶² Queller and Madden, *FC*, 136, theorize that the crusaders might have agreed to withdraw across the harbor in return for Alexius IV's coronation as coemperor.

³⁶³ Ca. 20 December 1203 and again on 1 January: *FC*, 157-158. Regarding the second re-ship attack, see note 376 below.

³⁶⁴ A large mob of dissident Constantinopolitans seized the church of Hagia Sophia on 25 January and demanded the election of a new emperor. Their choice fell on Nicholas Kannavos (Canabus) on 27 January: Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, (Berlin, 1975), 561-362 (Magoulias, *O City*, 307-308).

³⁶⁵ Alexius Ducas, nicknamed "Mourtzouphlos," who was descended through the female line from the imperial dynasty of the Comneni. On the origin of his nickname, see Andrea, *Capture*, 155-156, note 95. On the man and his short reign as emperor, see Benjamin Hendrickx and Corinna Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign, and Death (?-1204)," *Hellenika* 31 (1979): 108-132. Hendrickx and Matzukis, 118-119, reject the idea that Alexius Ducas served as envoy to the crusader camp; Queller and Madden, *FC*, 276, notes 103 and 104, effectively refute their arguments.

³⁶⁶ Located on the northeast corner of Constantinople's landwalls, it was the principal imperial residence. Queller and Madden, taking their lead from Nicetas Choniates's assertion that Alexius proposed to have the Latins expel Kannavos (Canabus) from the "palace," think that Alexius might have offered the Great Palace, which was across the city, rather than the Blachernae. Inasmuch as Kannavos and his supporters had taken control of Hagia Sophia, and the nearby Great Palace was considered part of the same complex, offering the Latins this palace, once they had driven out the antiemperor

The noble marquis goes to take possession of the palace; Alexius mocks the marquis,³⁶⁷ and scorning those things he had already given us in surety, he does not shrink from his usual perjuries. On the following night,³⁶⁸ Marchus, perjurious to his lord and us, discloses to the Greeks the secret plan for handing over the palace to us, and he declares that from this time forth their liberty will be snatched away from them forever, and this will happen in every respect, unless Alexius is overthrown. By virtue of this betrayal, a third emperor is elevated in the city.³⁶⁹ He applies sacrilegious hands on a sleeping lord, who is ignorant of the turn of events, and shuts him up in a foul prison.³⁷⁰ He incarcerates also³⁷¹ a certain Nicholas, the third emperor, who had recently usurped the imperial tokens of office at Sancta Sophia and who was handed over to him by the treachery of the Greeks, who had created him [emperor].³⁷² Shortly thereafter Isaac died. According to rumor, it was he who had turned his son's sentiments away from us prior to all of this. With the Greek clergy and people crying out that we be wiped off the face of the Earth in short order and with the Greeks thirsting for so much of our blood, the aforementioned traitor renews the war against us. He fortifies the city with machines and ramparts, whose like no one has ever seen.

The wall in general is incredibly thick and constructed with small stones and mortar of long-lasting strength and durability. Rising to a great height, it has massive towers about fifty

and his crowd made more sense: *FC*², 276-277, note 16; see Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 564 (Magoulias, *O City*, 308-309).

³⁶⁷ Queller and Madden, *FC*², 276, note 104, observe that there are two accounts of this meeting, Baldwin's and Nicetas Choniates's, and they differ substantially. On his part, Nicetas presents a picture of Boniface and Alexius IV reaching an agreement to bring Latin troops into Constantinople to crush the rebellion. Concluding that Nicetas provides more reliable testimony of what happened in the Blachernae Palace, they find the story of Alexius's mocking Boniface unlikely.

³⁶⁸ 27/28 January 1204.

³⁶⁹ The three emperors were Alexius IV, Nicholas Kannavos, and Mourtzouphlos, who became Alexius V (r. 1204) on 28 January. Isaac II had become a nonentity by this time and was dying: Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 562 (Magoulias, *O City*, 308).

³⁷⁰ Alexius IV was seized on the night of 27/28 January.

³⁷¹ *Rursus*—an ambiguous word, which is to be understood here in the sense that he repeats this action of incarceration, not that he incarcerates Nicholas for a second time.

³⁷² Nicholas was seized during the first week of February.

feet apart, more or less. Between each pair in the direction of the sea, where our attack was feared, a wooden tower was erected in three or four places above the wall, each containing a multitude of armed men. Notwithstanding all of this, either a *petrary* or *mangone*³⁷³ was set up between each pair of towers. Moreover, wooden towers to the height of six stories were raised above the existing towers, and atop the highest story platforms were extended out against us, containing on each side ramparts and bulwarks, with the tops of the platforms at a height slightly less than a bow could shoot an arrow from the ground. A lower wall also enclosed this wall, as well as a double ditch, to prevent any siege machines, under which sappers could take cover, from being drawn up to the walls.

Meanwhile, the perfidious emperor tests us on land and sea, with the Lord always protecting us and frustrating his attempts. With our men roaming far afield to forage food, the emperor attacked up to one thousand warriors with a substantial host, and in the initial clash his force was totally routed, and not just a few were killed or captured without loss to us. Thinking it wise to take ignoble flight, he threw away his shield, dropped his arms, and abandoned the imperial standard to us, as well as a noble icon, which he had borne before him.³⁷⁴ This our victorious men donated to the Cistercian Order.³⁷⁵ For a second time he attacks our fleet with ire,³⁷⁶ and in the silent dead of night, with the South Wind blowing strongly, he launches against our vessels sixteen of his re-ships, with sails unfurled aloft and bound together below at the prow. But through the Lord's intervention, along with the great work of our men, we kept them unharmed. The burning ships are grappled with hooks, fastened with chains, and drag-

³⁷³ A *petrary* was any sort of rock catapult; here he probably means a *trebuchet*, which employed a sling. A *mangonel* lobbed rocks by use of a vertical arm that was inserted into a horizontal brace.

³⁷⁴ Cf. accounts of this skirmish, which took place around 5/6 February 1204, in the *DC*, Ralph of Coggeshall, and Alberic of Trois Fontaines.

³⁷⁵ Clari, *Conquête*, 67, sec. LXVI, notes that all the barons decreed that it should be given to Cîteaux, and later it was taken there. We do not know whether or not it reached the abbey.

³⁷⁶ As *FC*², 275, note 89, points out, Baldwin seems to be confused as to his chronology. The second re-ship attack took place on 1 January, almost a full month before Mourtzouphlos seized the throne.

ged out to sea by our oarsmen, and we are freed by the Lord from the imminent threat of death.

We, therefore, challenge him to fight on land. Having crossed a bridge and stream that separated our army from the Greeks, we drew up ranks and stood for a long while before the gate of the royal city and the imperial palace that is called "Blachernae. In the name of the Lord, with the Living Cross preceding Israel's battle-hosts,³⁷⁷ we were prepared to draw the Greeks out to battle, if it pleased them to come out. And, indeed, for martial exercise, our foot soldiers cut down a certain noble who exited the city. So we returned to camp. On land and sea we are often challenged, but by virtue of the Lord's granting it, we always triumphantly gain the upper hand.

Feigning peace, the perfidious imperial interloper sends legates to us, asks for, and obtains a meeting with the doge.³⁷⁸ To be sure, the great-minded doge had objected that there could be no guarantee of peace with one who had shut up his lord in prison and had snatched away his throne, after having disregarded the sanctity of an oath, fealty, and a covenant—matters that are firmly binding even among infidels; nevertheless, he counseled him in good faith to reinstate his lord and humbly beg forgiveness. He also promised our entreaties on his behalf and, if he wished, we would deal mercifully with that same lord of his. Despite whatever venomous actions he³⁷⁹ had taken against us, if he should return to his senses, we would be willing to impute it to his age or to a lapse of judgment. He³⁸⁰ replied with empty words because he had no reasonable response. Moreover, he thoroughly rejected obedience

³⁷⁷ The Austrian edition of Reg. 7:152 has corrected *agmine* to *agmina*, which results in this identification of the crusaders with Israel's battle hosts. To the contrary, Baldwin's similar letters to the Order of Cîteaux, Archbishop Adolph of Cologne, and to the entire Christian West (respectively in Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:580, 587, and 597) have *agminum*. This would result in the following translation: "In the name of the Lord of Israel's battle-hosts, with the Living Cross preceding us, we were prepared.... However, some of the MSS of these three alternate letters also have *agmina*. More significant, Baldwin's letter to Innocent as edited in Prevenier, *ibid.*, 569, has *agmina*.

³⁷⁸ The meeting took place on 7 February 1204.

³⁷⁹ Alexius IV.

³⁸⁰ Morcuus.

to the Roman Church and aid for the Holy Land, which Alexius had promised by oath and imperial writ. He, thereby, chose the loss of his life and the overthrow of Greece, rather than have the Eastern Church submit to Latin pontiffs. On the following night,³⁸¹ therefore, he secretly strangled with a noose in jail his lord, with whom on that very day the Judas³⁸² had dined, and with unheard of cruelty, he tore apart the sides and ribs of the dying man with an iron hook that he held in his hand.³⁸³ He fabricated the story that the life that he had wrenched away with a noose had been snatched away by an accident, and granting him an imperial burial, he hid his evil deed, which was known to all, behind the honor of a funeral.

So, with winter completely over for us and after our ships have been outfitted with flying bridges and our war machines have been readied, we and our weapons return to the ships on the fourth day before the Ides of April,³⁸⁴ that is the Friday before Passion Sunday.³⁸⁵ With one mind, we attack the city in a naval assault for the honor of the Holy Roman Church and for the relief of the Holy Land, and on that day we suffered much, although without much bloodshed on our part, so that we retreated in shame from our enemies, a portion of whom on that day proved superior in all matters. We were even forced by the Greeks to abandon our war machines that we had hauled onto the beach, and we were forced to retire to the opposite shore with the affair in ruins. On that day, so it seemed, we were fatigued to the point of impotence.

We were greatly disturbed and terrified, therefore, but in the end, strengthened in the Lord and having resolved matters

³⁸¹ 8/9 February.

³⁸² This Judas, Morcuus, had just dined with his lord, Alexius IV. Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:570, reads this as *Inde* (‘‘thence’’), rather than *Iude*, and places it in the next sentence; the same is true for the letters to Archbishop Adolph, Cîteaux, and the Christian West: *ibid.*, 581, 587, and 598. However, *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:257 and PL 215:450 read *Iude* (*Judae* for PL), which makes more sense.

³⁸³ Only Baldwin provides these gruesome details, and only the Latin sources accuse Alexius V of personally strangling Alexius IV. Nicetas Choniates claims the new emperor ordered the execution after having twice personally failed to poison Alexius: *Historia*, 564 (Magoulias, *O City*, 309).

³⁸⁴ 9 April 1204.

³⁸⁵ Passion Sunday (also known as *Judica* Sunday), the second Sunday before Easter, fell on 11 April.

in council, we are refreshed for a return to combat. On the fourth day, the day before the Ides of April,³⁸⁶ that is the Monday after Passion Sunday, with the North Wind blowing, we are transported back to the walls.

Through the great effort of our men, the flying bridges of the ships are brought to bear on the tower platforms in the face of tremendous Greek resistance. But because they felt our swords in close combat, the fortunes of war were uncertain for but a short while. Indeed, two ships called *Paradise* and *Lady Pilgrim*,³⁸⁷ which were lashed together and bore our bishops, namely those of Soissons and Troyes, were the first to reach the tower platforms with their own flying bridges, and, with an auspicious omen, they carried pilgrims fighting for Paradise to the enemy. The banners of the bishops are the first to gain the walls, and the first victory is granted by Heaven to ministers of the heavenly mysteries. Therefore, with our men pouring out, at the Lord's bidding a vast multitude gives way to very few, and with the Greeks abandoning their ramparts, our men bravely open the gates to the soldiers. Upon seeing their entry, the emperor, who stood at arms in his tent encampment not far from the walls, immediately abandons his tents and fees. Our men are occupied with killing; a populous city is captured; those fleeing our swords find refuge in the imperial palaces, and having killed many Greeks, our men reassemble, with twilight now approaching. Exhausted, they lay down their arms and discuss assaulting the palaces the following day. The emperor gathers together his forces and encourages them to do battle the next day, claiming that he now has our men in his power, encircled within a walled enclosure. But in the night he secretly turns tail, defeated.

When this was discovered, the bewildered Greek populace sets about replacing the emperor. While they proceed in the morning to nominate a certain Constantine,³⁸⁸ our foot soldiers, not expecting a deliberation among the masses, rush to

³⁸⁶ 12 April 1204.

³⁸⁷ *Peregrina*.

³⁸⁸ According to Nicetas Choniates, two men named Constantine—Constantine Ducas and Constantine Laskaris—competed for the crown and Laskaris won by lot but refused the imperial insignia: *Historia*, 571-572 (Magoulias, *O City*, 314).

arms, and the fleeing Greeks abandon the strongest and best fortified palaces, and the entire city is taken in an instant.

An innumerable amount of horses, gold, silver, costly silk tapestries, gems, and all those things that people judge to be riches is plundered. Such an inestimable abundance is discovered that the entire Latin World does not seem to possess as much. So those who totally denied us small things have relinquished everything to us by divine judgment. Thus, we might safely say that no history could ever relate marvels greater than these so far as the fortunes of wars are concerned. Plainly, the prophecy that says "One hundred foreigners are put to fight by you,"³⁸⁹ is fulfilled in us because, if we divide up the victory among the individuals, any one of our people besieged and conquered no fewer than a hundred. Now however, we do not wrongly lay claim to this victory for ourselves because the Lord's own right hand delivered Himself and His powerful arm was revealed in us.³⁹⁰ This was done by the Lord, and it is a miracle above all miracles in our eyes.³⁹¹

Once we had scrupulously taken care of those matters that the turn of events demanded be set in order, we unanimously and faithfully proceeded to the election of an emperor and, with all partisanship put aside,³⁹² we set in place as electors of our emperor (under the Lord's direction) the reverend men, our bishops of Soissons, Halberstadt, and Troyes, and the lord bishop of Bethlehem,³⁹³ who had been dispatched to us by Apostolic authority from the lands across the sea, the bishop-elect of Acre,³⁹⁴ and the abbot of Lucedio, along with six Venetian barons. After a preliminary prayer had been offered, as was fitting, these men unanimously³⁹⁵ and solemnly elected us (which was far beyond our due) on *Misericordia Domini* Sunday,³⁹⁶ with the clergy and laity alike proclaiming divine prais-

³⁸⁹ Cf. Lev 26:8.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Ps 98 (97):1; Is 59:16.

³⁹¹ Cf. Ps 118 (117): 22-23; Mt 21:42; Mk 12:11.

³⁹² Hardly. Partisanship ran high: *FC*², 201.

³⁹³ Peter, bishop-elect of Bethlehem; he is not mentioned by Longnon in *Compagnons*.

³⁹⁴ John of Noyon.

³⁹⁵ Unanimity was probably impossible, at least in the early rounds of their secret discussions.

³⁹⁶ 9 May 1204.

es. And on the following Sunday, the one on which *Iubilate* is sung,³⁹⁷ according to the precept of the Apostle Peter that the king is to be honored and one must yield to him as one superior³⁹⁸ and as the Evangelist has announced that no one will take away our joy from us,³⁹⁹ with immoderate honor, with joyful celebration, and even, as is their custom, with the Greeks applauding, the beloved fathers the aforementioned pontiffs accompanied by the applause and pious tears of all, gloriously elevated to the heights of empire him who had been crowned by God and humanity for the honor of God and of the Roman Church and for the relief of the Holy Land.

Residents of the Holy Land, clerics and soldiers, were on hand. In comparison with everyone else, their joy was incalculable and unrestrained, and they were more thankful in declaring manifest homage to God, just as if the Holy City⁴⁰⁰ had been restored to Christian worship, because the royal city, which for so long now has vigorously stood in opposition to and been an adversary of both, has dedicated itself to the Roman Church and the land of Jerusalem to the perpetual confusion of the enemies of the Holy Cross. For it is this city, which in the most unclean rite of the heathens sucking blood by turn as a sign of fraternal union very often dared to secure deadly friendships with the infidels, and its quite fruitful breast long fed these same infidels, and it deviated into worldly arrogance by providing arms, ships, and foodstuffs.⁴⁰¹ What, on the other hand, the city did for the pilgrims, deeds rather than words provide instruction to the entire Latin people. This is the city that, out of hatred for the Apostolic dignity, could scarcely bear to hear the name of the prince of the apostles and which conceded not one Greek church to him who received from the Lord Himself dominion over all churches. This is the city that had forgotten to honor Christ in paintings of and by themselves⁴⁰² and, among the execrable rites that it had

³⁹⁷ 16 May 1204. The *DC* provides the same date.

³⁹⁸ 1 Pet 2:13 and 17.

³⁹⁹ Jn 16:22.

⁴⁰⁰ Jerusalem.

⁴⁰¹ To the Muslims.

⁴⁰² A reference to the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and early ninth centuries.

devised for itself in contempt for the authority of Scripture, it even quite often presumed to diminish *salvi* c baptism by repeating it.⁴⁰³ This is the city that deemed all Latins worthy of being called not humans but dogs, the shedding of whose blood they almost reckoned among the works of merit,⁴⁰⁴ and lay monks,⁴⁰⁵ who in contempt of priests possessed all authority to bind and loose,⁴⁰⁶ did not punish it with any penance that involved making amends.⁴⁰⁷ Once their sins had been made complete sins that provoked the Lord Himself *ad nauseam* Divine Justice, through our ministry and with fitting vengeance, punished such absurdities as cannot be explained within the limitations of a letter, and with the expulsion of people who hated God and loved themselves, it gave us a land overflowing with an abundance of every sort of good thing. It is a land made stable by grain, wine, and oil. It is rich in produce, lovely in its forests, waters, and pasture lands, quite spacious for settlement, and temperate in climate (of which there is no equal in the world). But our desires do not lie here, and we will not abide that the royal standard⁴⁰⁸ be laid aside from our shoulders until, with that land⁴⁰⁹ stabilized by the settlement of our people, we should visit the regions across the sea and, with God granting it, fulfill the purpose of the pilgrimage. For we trust in the Lord Jesus that He, who cultivated in us worthy labor for the praise and glory of His Name, will accomplish, establish, and solidify the permanent suppression of the enemies of the Cross.

Therefore we quite readily beseech and implore Your Paternity in the Lord to consent to be prince and leader of that glory, victory, and desired hope (whose great door has been

⁴⁰³ The charge was often made that Greeks forced Latin converts to be rebaptized in the Eastern rite.

⁴⁰⁴ I.e. deeds that earn merit in the eyes of God.

⁴⁰⁵ Who had a tremendous amount of influence on the urban laity.

⁴⁰⁶ That is, lay monks claimed the right to absolve sins, a power that the early thirteenth-century Roman Church taught belonged solely to ordained priests.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ulla penitentie satisfactio*: literally "with any compensation of penance." This seems to be equivalent to the formula *satisfactio pro poena* (remission by satisfaction).

⁴⁰⁸ *Vexillum regale*: a reference to the *Vexillum Christi*, or the Standard of Christ, the emblem of the Cross borne by the warrior of Christ the King.

⁴⁰⁹ The empire of Constantinople.

opened to us) and to impute to your pontificate⁴¹⁰ and works the eternal glory that, without any doubt, belongs to you, if you in fame with salutary admonitions the inhabitants of the West who are especially faithful to Your Apostolic Holiness nobles and commoners of every sort of class and of each sex who have been in fame with these same longings to true and immense divine undertakings, which are equally temporal and eternal, with an Apostolic indulgence offered to all who come to us and will faithfully serve our empire either for a while or for life.⁴¹¹ For, God granting it, we will furnish all whom zeal for the Christian religion might bring to us, in accordance with their status and their differences of birth, everything that we equally want to and are able to provide that will enlarge their fortunes and increase their honors. In particular, Your Paternal Solitude should strongly encourage kindly ecclesiastical men of whatever religious order or rite to light a fire in that same populace by means of public preaching and potent sermons and to instruct it by example and to hasten to come in throngs to set up now not in blood but amid bountiful liberty, peace, and an abundance of all good things a church in places that are most pleasant and fruitful, saving always, as is fitting, the canonical license of their prelates.⁴¹²

Also for the praise and glory of the Redeemer and the perpetual glory and special service of Your Holiness, none of the faithful of the Church at large should hesitate to show up if Your Paternity should convene a General Council in Constantinople, a city graced by ancient councils,⁴¹³ a council to be confirmed by the presence of your holy person and it should link New Rome⁴¹⁴ with Old Rome through holy and perpetually valid rules. But we already have forgotten you invited rebellious Greece to a council!⁴¹⁵ It is almost as though, with a foreshadowing of the era that you now see, you seem to have delayed it for a while, albeit on account of either the Greeks

⁴¹⁰ *Temporibus*: literally, "times."

⁴¹¹ *Perpetuo*.

⁴¹² They may only come with the permission of their religious superiors.

⁴¹³ In 381, 553, 680/681, 869/870, and 879/880.

⁴¹⁴ Constantinople.

⁴¹⁵ The invitation was made to Alexius III and Patriarch John X in Regs. 2:200 (209); 2:201 (210); and 2:202 (211): *Register Innocenz III*, 2: 382-397.

rebellion or the world's expediencies and various concerns. Now, Holy Father, behold the time is right! Now, behold the day of salvation! The Lord, who placed your enemies as a footstool for your feet, appears to have conceived plans of peace for your pontificate.⁴¹⁶ Sound, we pray, a priestly trumpet on Zion, most loving father; call an assembly; gather the people; join together the elderly and nursing mothers;⁴¹⁷ make holy a day acceptable to the Lord—a day for establishing unity and peace and a day that we observe unto the Lord so that our strength might be buttressed. For however much we might be deficient on our own, we dare to hope in the Lord that the joy of the Lord might be our strength for wiping out the scandal to the Cross and crushing every rival power in the world that raises itself up against the Lord and against His anointed one.⁴¹⁸ You are mindful, Holy Father, of the occupants of your throne whose souls rejoice in Heaven and whose most glorious memory lives on Earth: John,⁴¹⁹ Agapitus,⁴²⁰ and Leo⁴²¹ or others who, one reads, visited the Church of Constantinople in person for various reasons, as is clearly recorded in the Apostolic archives and documents, if we, who claim to have read them,⁴²² are not mistaken. The fact is that anyone of them

⁴¹⁶ *Temporibus vestris.*

⁴¹⁷ *Suggestentes ubera:* "those providing breasts.

⁴¹⁸ *Christum eius:* Here the reference seems not to be to Jesus, who is the Christ, or Messiah (the Anointed One), but to Emperor Baldwin, who was anointed at his coronation.

⁴¹⁹ John I (r. 523-526), the first bishop of Rome to travel to Constantinople, having been sent there by King Theodoric the Ostrogoth to negotiate an end of imperial persecution of Arian Christians. According to the *Liber pontificalis*, he was warmly received in Constantinople and succeeded in convincing Emperor Justin to end the persecution, but he still incurred the enmity of Theodoric. Upon his return to Italy, he was shut up in prison, where he died: Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., *The Book of the Popes to the Pontificate of Gregory I* (New York, 1965), 131-138.

⁴²⁰ Agapitus I (r. 535-536). According to the *Liber pontificalis*, he traveled to the court of Justinian the Great at the command of King Theodatus. While at the imperial court, he managed to persuade Justinian that Patriarch Anthimus I (r. 535-536) was a heretic and thereby secured his deposition. He failed, however, to prevent Justinian's invasion of Ostrogothic Italy, and he died in Constantinople: *ibid.*, 143-146.

⁴²¹ An error: In 710 Pope Constantine I (r. 708-715) traveled east, where he met and successfully settled a dispute with Emperor Justinian II. Before his promotion to the papal chair, Constantine had traveled to Constantinople as an envoy of Pope Leo II (r. 682-683) hence the confusion: Francis Dvornik, "Constantinople and Rome," *Cambridge Medieval History*, 2nd. rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1966), Vol. 4, Part 1, 442; Hageneder et al., *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:261, note 41.

would have come for far lesser matters.

If, out of ardent desire, we importune beyond the norms of propriety, Reverend Father, pardon our passion with your usual benevolence and consider further the point of the suit rather than the words. Moreover, there is no reason for us to keep silent regarding the fact that our reverend pontiffs and abbots and the venerable clergy of lesser station comported themselves in their relations with us so nobly and properly, so honestly and prudently, and fought for God with mighty weapons so steadily and triumphantly that they ought rightly to expect the crown of victory from the Lord's hand, and their memory merits benediction in perpetuity,⁴²³ and (lest they lack any mark of favor whatsoever) they ought even more clearly to bear away the full measure of Apostolic favor and grace as something so well merited. We very much commend to Your Paternity, for the merit of his probity, the illustrious man Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice, a man esteemed by us and rightly esteemed, along with our friends and allies, the Venetians, whom we find to be faithful and diligent in all circumstances.

Reg. 7:153

7 November 1204

Baldwin's letter achieved its hoped-for reaction when it reached Rome. And why should not the pope and his curial counselors be overwhelmed and ecstatic over the news? Constantinople was now in Latin hands, something the pope had dreamed of but could never have anticipated.⁴²⁴ Alexius IV, whom the pope probably trusted as little as he had trusted his uncle and his father, had been replaced by a young Flemish noble who was noted for his piety and devotion to the papacy. Indeed, Baldwin, unlike the marquis of Montferrat, was an ally of Otto of Brunswick, whom the pope sup-

⁴²² A pretty sure indication that this was crafted by one or more well-educated clerics with the army. If one has to guess, the choice seems to fall on Master John Faicete of Noyon, who served as chancellor of the county of Flanders, was bishop-elect of Acre, and would soon become chancellor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

⁴²³ Whereas *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:262, has *inperpetuum* (not perpetual), Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:577, and PL, 215:454, have the correct *in perpetuum*.

⁴²⁴ Andrea, *Capture*, 58.

ported for the German crown. What is more, Emperor Baldwin promised that the conquest of Constantinople was but a stepping stone to a successful crusade—a crusade he intended to recommence once his new empire was stabilized.

Innocent dispatched two letters to the new Latin empire at Constantinople in November, probably soon after receiving Baldwin's letter. Significantly, neither of the letters mentions or alludes to the fact that less than a year earlier Innocent had assumed that the crusaders were probably once again excommunicated. Indeed, no more is ever heard of that putative second excommunication.

The first of the two letters is dated 7 November and addressed to Emperor Baldwin. In it the pope agreed that the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople was a magnificent miracle wrought by God. With that noted, he then placed the emperor and his lands and people under special papal protection. Additionally, he commanded all members of the crusade army at Constantinople, clerics and laity alike, to assist the emperor in defending and holding onto that empire and, quite significantly, he transformed that assistance into an integral part of their sacred crusade duties. Why was that done? Quite simply, Innocent agreed with Baldwin that a secure Latin empire of Constantinople would make the liberation of Jerusalem an easier and surer undertaking.

As good and desirable as human assistance was in maintaining the strength of this new empire, it paled when compared with God's help. The pope reminded the emperor that the Greeks lost their empire by the just judgment of God because of their arrogance and disobedience, and the surest way in which he could preserve his empire was by keeping the Greek Church and the empire of Constantinople obedient to the Apostolic See—the same Apostolic See that, so Innocent claimed, had successfully prayed for this translation of empire. Finally, he reminded Baldwin of his duty to protect the integrity of ecclesiastical possessions.

To Baldwin, illustrious emperor of Constantinople:

We have received with paternal benevolence the letter of Your Imperial Highness that Your Devotedness sent to us through our beloved son Barozzi, a brother of the Military Order of the Temple,⁴²⁵ and, once its tenor was quite fully

⁴²⁵ A member of the Venetian Barozzi family and former master, or preceptor, of

known, we rejoiced in the Lord and in the strength of His power because He, who resists the proud but bestows favor on the humble, has deigned to work magnificent miracles with you for the praise and glory of His Name, for the honor and profit of the Apostolic See, and for the benefit and exaltation of the Christian people (granted we are silent about your magnificence and power). Moreover, among other things, it is pleasing and acceptable to us, and on that matter we commend your prudence, that you ascribe too little or nothing to your ability but everything to God and us, for humility exalts him whom pride does not puff up.

Hoping, therefore (indeed, knowing for certain), that you desire out of a pure heart and good conscience and a faith that is ever true that the most holy Roman Church, which is mother and teacher of all the faithful, be venerated, we wish to exert diligent zeal and effectual labor for your honor and profit. For that reason we place you, as well as your land and people, under the primary protection of Saint Peter and under our special protection, resolutely ordering all archbishops, bishops, and all other church prelates, also kings, dukes, counts, and other princes, and all peoples that they support and defend your lands and people, and they neither personally molest them nor have them molested by others. Rather, archbishops and bishops are to repress, by means of ecclesiastical penalty without appeal, their molesters, and they are to compel them, by means of personal excommunication as well as an interdict⁴²⁶ on their lands with no legal maneuvering permitted,⁴²⁷ to make total satisfaction. We also charge and command all clerics, as well as the lay crusaders who are with you in the Christian army by reason of hope for remission [of sins] and the indulgence that the Apostolic See offers them, to assist you prudently and mightily in defending and holding onto the empire of Constantinople. Through the aid of its assistance the Holy Land might be more easily liberated from pagan

the house of the Order of the Knights Templar in Lombardy. See Reg. 7:147, and especially *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:235, note 3.

⁴²⁶ An ecclesiastical penalty that excludes an offender's lands and people from most or all sacraments and religious ceremonies.

⁴²⁷ *Omni occasione cessante*: "with every evasion ceasing.

hands. And we meanwhile will be busy so arranging it as to send you help for each land,⁴²⁸ because you will confirm the good will in our soul by effective action.⁴²⁹

Very beloved son, you ought, moreover, to think about this with anxious concentration: Namely, after the kingdom of the Greeks turned away from obedience to the Apostolic See, it continuously descended from evil to worse evil until, by the just judgment of God, it was transferred from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the obedient, from schismatics to Catholics, so that it might rise through the virtue of obedience to goodness because through the sin⁴³⁰ of disobedience it fell into evil. For this reason we instruct Your Highness and quite attentively exhort you, enjoining you for the remission of your sins to take care to preserve in obedience to the Apostolic See the Greek Church and the empire of Constantinople, which⁴³¹ Divine Grace subjected to you at the Apostolic See's behest, and through such obedience you will better preserve this empire for yourself; that you quite attentively see to it that you diligently and faithfully make sure that ecclesiastical goods, both fixed and moveable, are protected until they might be properly organized in accordance with our authoritative decision, so that those things that are Caesar's might be rendered to Caesar, and those things that are God's might be rendered to God⁴³² without confusion.

Issued in Rome at Saint Peter's on the sixth day before the Ides of November.

Reg. 7:154

13 November 1204

If Innocent's letter to Emperor Baldwin was brief and to the point but exuberant, his letter of 13 November to the clerics traveling with the army was lengthy, convoluted, and wildly exuberant. It

⁴²⁸ The Holy Land and the empire of Constantinople.

⁴²⁹ This picks up the theme of 6:229 (230), where Innocent instructed the crusader princes that deeds would prove the purity of their self-proclaimed motives.

⁴³⁰ *Vitium* (moral law).

⁴³¹ The singular *quod* is used here to refer only to the empire; Innocent did not believe the Greek Church was subjected to Baldwin's control.

⁴³² Mt 22:21; Mk 12:17; Lk 20:25.

probably took six additional days just to compose. Indeed, as Christoph Egger has suggested, this letter has the appearance of a sermon, and it is possible that the euphoric pope actually preached it, in slightly revised form, to the curia.⁴³³

Whatever the case, the letter as we have it, with its extended commentary on the reasoning behind the Latin Church's doctrine of the Holy Spirit's dual procession from the Father and the Son (*Filioque*), shows us Innocent the theologian. The letter also places the hoped-for return of the Greek Church to Roman obedience into an eschatological context through its detailed and often hard-to-follow exegesis of John's Gospel account of the Resurrection. Borrowing verbatim two segments from Joachim of Fiore's *Exposition on the Apocalypse* (set off in this translation by italics), Innocent, or whoever composed this letter in his name, used the insights of his age's most original and influential exegete of the Apocalypse of Saint John (better known as the Book of Revelation)⁴³⁴ to argue that, inasmuch as the Greek Church would shortly come to know the full mystery of the Godhead (namely, it would accept the doctrine of *Filioque*), the Greeks would fully put aside their Judaic origins and enter into harmony with the Roman Church. When that happens, "then also all Israel will be saved. In other words, an age of universal concord was at hand—the seventh and last stage of divine history. The pope would return to this theme and expound it more clearly a little over two months later.

To the bishops, abbots, and other clerics residing with the army of the crusaders at Constantinople:

We read in the Prophet Daniel that it is God in Heaven who reveals mysteries; it is He who changes times and transfers kingdoms.⁴³⁵ Moreover, in our age we see this in the kingdom of the Greeks, and we rejoice in its accomplishment because He, who has dominion in the kingdom of humanity and who will give it to whom He might wish, has transferred the empire of Constantinople from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the obedient, from schismatics to Catholics,

⁴³³ An e-mail message of 8 August 1999.

⁴³⁴ Among the many works on Abbot Joachim, see Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985).

⁴³⁵ Dan 2:21-22 and 28.

namely from the Greeks to the Latins. Surely, this was done by the Lord and is wondrous in our eyes. This is truly a change done by the right hand of the Most High, in which the right hand of the Lord manifested power so that He might exalt the most holy Roman Church while He returns the daughter to the mother, the part to the whole, and the member to the head. For the time appears to have arrived in which, with the golden calves destroyed,⁴³⁶ Israel might return to Judah, and Samaria might turn back to Jerusalem;⁴³⁷ inasmuch as it⁴³⁸ has been cast forth from the courtyard, which according to the Apocalypse of John is outside the Temple,⁴³⁹ it might rise up to the Lord now not in Dan and Bethel⁴⁴⁰ but on Mount Zion.⁴⁴¹ We, therefore, have offered thanks (although not as much as we owe, yet as much as we are able) to Him, the source of every ideal present and every perfect gift,⁴⁴² and we offer in sacrifice the bullocks of our lips⁴⁴³ to Him, who in our day gave this glory to His holy and glorious Name, which has been invoked over us.

For that which a long time ago came forth in accordance with the letter is now completed in accordance with the Spirit.⁴⁴⁴ For one reads that early in the morning, while darkness still hung about, Mary Magdalene came to the grave and saw the stone removed from the grave **etc., as follows in the Gospel lesson.**⁴⁴⁵ Clearly the Synagogue is symbolized by Mary Magdalene; by the grave, indeed, one understands the

⁴³⁶ A reference to the idolatrous golden calves of King Jeroboam of Israel: 1 Kings 12:26-28.

⁴³⁷ A reference to the capture and absorption by the Assyrians of the kingdom of Israel (Samaria) in 722 B.C., which left the kingdom of Judah, which was centered on Jerusalem, isolated.

⁴³⁸ The kingdom of Israel (symbolically the empire of Constantinople).

⁴³⁹ The courtyard of the gentiles: Rev 11:2.

⁴⁴⁰ The sites in Israel where Jeroboam set up his golden calves: 1 Kings 12:29-30.

⁴⁴¹ A mixed metaphor of epic proportions: Having been thrown out of the Temple's forecourt (the court of the gentiles), which is located on Mount Zion, Israel now will no longer worship golden calves in Dan and Bethel but will worship in the Temple on Mount Zion. In other words, the Greeks of Constantinople, now ejected from the courtyard of the gentiles (the schismatic Greek Church/empire), will enter the Temple of the Roman Church.

⁴⁴² Jas 1:17.

⁴⁴³ Another confused image: We offer in sacrifice not real animals but our words.

⁴⁴⁴ Rom 8:3-4.

⁴⁴⁵ Jn 20.

Old Testament; the letter of the Law, which was set down on stone tablets, is represented by the grave stone. Therefore, **Mary** (clearly, the Synagogue) **early in the morning** (that is, in a primitive age), **while darkness still hung about** (clearly, a time of blindness and ignorance before the Law had been given through Moses, regarding which the Apostle says, ‘I would never have known what concupiscence is except that the Law said: ‘Do not commit concupiscence. ’),⁴⁴⁶ **came to the grave** (that is, she received the Old Testament in which the hidden mysteries of the scriptures lay shut up like bodies in a grave). At last, the darkness dissipated and day broke quite fully, clearly with that Light that gives light to every person coming into this world,⁴⁴⁷ during whose solar eclipse, we read, rocks were split apart and graves were opened.⁴⁴⁸ **She saw** in the primitive believers,⁴⁴⁹ who were from the company of the circumcised for salvation is from the Jews⁴⁵⁰ **the stone moved from the mouth of the grave**, clearly a correct interpretation of the letter of the Old Testament because she learned through the teachers of evangelical truth that the Law is to be understood not so much literally as spiritually, as one of those teachers, namely the Apostle Paul, bears witness: ‘The letter kills but the spirit gives life. ’⁴⁵¹ And as this same man says elsewhere: ‘It is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and the other by a free woman. But the one who was by a slave was begotten according to the flesh, whereas he who was by the free woman was begotten through the Promise. This story is an allegory. ’⁴⁵² And again: ‘Not all who are from Israel are Israelites nor are all who are from the seed of Abraham his sons, but those who are descended through Isaac will be called your seed. This means it is not the sons of the flesh who are the sons of God but those who are the sons

⁴⁴⁶ Rom 7:7.

⁴⁴⁷ Jn 1:9. The Vulgate version has ‘every person coming into the world, rather than the correct ‘the Light was coming into the world that gives light to every person.

⁴⁴⁸ Mt 27:45 and 52.

⁴⁴⁹ The first Christians.

⁴⁵⁰ Jn 4:22.

⁴⁵¹ 2 Cor 3:6.

⁴⁵² Gal 4:22-24.

of the Promise who are considered the seed. ⁴⁵³

Therefore, rushing away, Mary Magdalene comes to Simon Peter and another disciple, the one whom Jesus loved, and says to them: "They have taken my Lord, and I do not know where they put him. ⁴⁵⁴ Just as the Synagogue is symbolized by Mary Magdalene, so the Latin people are symbolized by Peter, who was specially sent to the Latins and was buried among them in Rome. The Greek people, in truth, are symbolized by John, who was sent to the Greeks and eventually fell asleep in the Lord at Ephesus. Peter built one Church, clearly the sole head of all churches. Wherefore the Lord said to him: "You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church. ⁴⁵⁵ John, however, established many churches in Asia like many members of a single head. Wherefore in the Apocalypse he makes mention of seven churches and their angels, ⁴⁵⁶ so that, just as many members are governed by a single head, so many discrete churches are ruled over by a single universal Church. Therefore, Mary comes equally to Peter and John, because the Synagogue through the first apostles, who had been in its company of believers, preached the word of the Gospel to Latins and Greeks alike. For their voice went out into the entire world and their words to the ends of the Earth, ⁴⁵⁷ and for that reason Mary is said to have run because the discourse of preaching ran swiftly. She comes, as noted, and says to them: "They have taken the Lord from the grave, and I do not know where they put him, as if saying more clearly: "The Scribes and Pharisees, having put to death the Truth, which is Christ, have buried Him in the Old Testament so that, according to them, there is no mention of Him in it, and thus, according to their interpretation, Christ's place in the Old Testament is unknown.

Therefore Peter went out, as well as the other disciple, and they came to the grave. The two were side by side, and the other disciple forged on ahead, faster than Peter, and arrived

⁴⁵³ Rom 9:6-8.

⁴⁵⁴ Jn 20:2.

⁴⁵⁵ Mt 16:18.

⁴⁵⁶ Rev 1:4 and elsewhere.

⁴⁵⁷ Ps 18:5; Rom 10:18.

rst at the grave, and when he had bent down, he saw the wrappings lying there, but he did not enter.⁴⁵⁸ For the gentiles who were predestined to Life, namely Greeks and Latins, listened to the preaching of this Church, which had trusted in circumcision,⁴⁵⁹ and they ran eagerly to a knowledge of the Old Testament so that through it they might learn of the truth of those great matters that God had revealed. But even though the Greek people had earlier received the Old Testament, which was announced to them first, and had applied themselves to understanding it, and even though they comprehended the mysteries of Christ's humanity earlier than the Latin people because more apostles, such as Paul, Barnabus, and John, had come to them first, nevertheless the Greek people did not enter the grave and did not see the *sudarium*,⁴⁶⁰ which had been rolled up away to one side,⁴⁶¹ because Greek teachers, except perhaps for a handful, have neither up to this time nor even now attained full understanding of the Old Testament and the profound mysteries of the Godhead.⁴⁶² For the wrappings, in which the body of Jesus was wrapped, symbolize the mysteries of Christ's humanity; the *sudarium*, which had been over His head, is understood as the mystery of the Godhead. For according to the Apostle: "The head of a man is Christ; the head of Christ is God."⁴⁶³ Hence one reads in Isaiah that two Cherubim, who, it is written, have six wings, veiled their face with two wings and with two their feet, and with the other two they flew about⁴⁶⁴ because the mysteries of the Godhead, which are symbolized by the head or face, and those things that the Lord God did before the creation of the world and those things that He will do after the Judgment are hidden, but those matters in between are more attainable, and

⁴⁵⁸ Jn 20:3-5.

⁴⁵⁹ The Church of Judaism.

⁴⁶⁰ The napkin that was placed over the face of the entombed Jesus.

⁴⁶¹ Jn 20:7.

⁴⁶² An oblique reference to the *Filioque* Controversy, which he develops in detail below. Joseph Gill's chapter "Greeks, Latins, and the *Filioque*," in his *Byzantium and the Papacy: 1198-1400* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1979), 142-160, provides an excellent overview of the dispute.

⁴⁶³ 1 Cor 11:3.

⁴⁶⁴ Here Innocent (or a papal scribe) mixes up the angels mentioned in Isaiah 6:2. These six-winged angels were Seraphim not Cherubim.

we even y around them.

Therefore Simon Peter came, following him, and entered the grave because the Latin people have penetrated right to the inner and deeper mysteries of the Old Testament, and they have, for that reason, seen the wrappings lying about and the *sudarium*, which had been over His head, lying not with the wrappings but separately rolled up to one side, because they distinguished between the mysteries of [Jesus s] humanity and divinity: Just as there is no division of nature in God but a division of persons, so in Christ there is no division of person but a division of natures. Therefore, although the Greek people might believe there are three persons in the Divine Essence and one essence in the Godhead, yet they do not believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son just as He proceeds from the Father.⁴⁶⁵ For this reason John appended the note with regard to his very self (not to insult himself but to reproach the Greeks): "For he did not yet understand Scripture. ⁴⁶⁶

What⁴⁶⁷ does it mean, however, that the Jewish people were rst called to the worship of a single God, whereas two are commissioned toward the end of time,⁴⁶⁸ save only that there is one person in the Trinity who is sent from no one because He is from no one,⁴⁶⁹ and there are two persons who are from one and are sent from one?⁴⁷⁰ Wherefore, if the Jewish people, who were called through the patriarchs, serve as a symbol for Him from whom all power in Heaven and on Earth is appointed, for whom do the Latin people, to whom the vicar of Christ was given, serve as a type for, if not of the Son Himself, who, according to tradition, confronted Saint Peter and said equally as much to these people⁴⁷¹ as to that man: "I come to Rome to be cruci ed again ?⁴⁷² Because, indeed, Saint John, from

⁴⁶⁵ The *Filioque* Controversy. Gunther of Pairis informs us that when Innocent met with the army's envoys in early 1203, he informed them that the Greeks differed from the Roman Church in certain articles of faith, including the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit: *HC in Orth*, 129 (Andrea, *Capture*, 84).

⁴⁶⁶ Jn. 20:9. Actually, the passage refers to both Peter and John.

⁴⁶⁷ According to Hageneder et al., the section that follows in italics is a verbatim borrowing from Joachim of Fiore's *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, fol. 143^{vb}-144^{ra}: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:267, note 5.

⁴⁶⁸ Apparently a reference to the two witnesses of Rev 11:3.

⁴⁶⁹ God the Father.

⁴⁷⁰ God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

⁴⁷¹ The Latins.

⁴⁷² The legend of "Domine, quo vadis? Peter, seeing Rome, meets Christ carrying a Cross and asks Him, "Lord, where are You going? Upon receiving Jesus's an-

whom the order of righteous monks took shape, was given to the Greek people, he rightly serves as a type for that Spirit who shows favor to and loves spiritual sons. Yet, if this is true, why is it that the Greeks have not yet learned to be able to believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son just as from the Father? It can only mean that they basely received instruction from the Jewish people (who accept the mystery of God the Father but so far have basely scorned to learn from the Latin people, who bear on their part a likeness to God the Son) so that, in the same way that this same Spirit is said to have received from the Son what He will announce,⁴⁷³ so the Greek people, who heretofore received instruction from the Hebrew people, nally will likewise learn from the Latin people.⁴⁷⁴ For truly, inasmuch as the Father loves the Son to the highest degree because whatever the Father has He has given over totally to the Son,⁴⁷⁵ and inasmuch as the Son loves the Father to the highest degree because whatever the Son has He has received it totally from the Father,⁴⁷⁶ by a coordinate rationale the Father and the Holy Spirit love one another to the highest degree because whatever the Father has He has given totally to the Holy Spirit, and whatever the Holy Spirit has He has received it totally from the Father. Therefore, unless such a relationship exists between the Son and the Holy Spirit, they assuredly would not love one another to the highest degree and, thus, the Son would love the Father more than the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit would love the Father more than the Son, which is unbecoming, absurd, and totally impossible. For, inasmuch as these three are one and the same with no difference or diversity, one cannot love one rather than another more fully because selfsameness does not allow for inequality. Therefore, as these three reciprocally love one another to the highest degree, it follows that just as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, so He proceeds from the Son, seeing that, as the Father proceeds from no one and the other

swer, Peter returns to Rome and his own crucifixion. See the pseudo *Actus Petri cum Simone*, or *Codex Vercellensis*, whose relevant portions are translated by James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York, 1927), 150-151.

⁴⁷³ Jn 16:13-15.

⁴⁷⁴ Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, fol. 143^{vb}-144^{ra}; *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:267, note 5.

⁴⁷⁵ Jn 3:35.

⁴⁷⁶ Jn 13:3.

two are from Him, so the Holy Spirit must be from the other two, and no one proceeds from Him. The Son, however, proceeds from one,⁴⁷⁷ and the other⁴⁷⁸ proceeds from Him, and by reason of this there is among all of them a relative distinction in personhoods, just as there is among all of them an essential identity in nature.

If this mystery had been plainly known by the Greeks, they would have already entered the grave with the Latins, knowing that God is [a God] not of dissension but peace.⁴⁷⁹ But because John did not yet understand Scripture, namely that Christ had to rise from the dead, it is no wonder if the Greeks do not yet know that the letter is dead where the spirit of Christ lives. However they will know in the near future, as we believe and hope, they will know,⁴⁸⁰ assuredly they will know, and the remnant of them⁴⁸¹ will be converted in their whole innermost being, and they will come to Zion seeking the Lord and David, their king,⁴⁸² and they will worship on the altar that was erected in Rome as an everlasting altar, and from then on the hand of the Lord will be with them.⁴⁸³ Finally it will be completed, and perhaps now what the Evangelist added will begin to be fulfilled: "Then, therefore, he entered and this disciple, who had been the first to come to the grave, both saw and believed. ⁴⁸⁴ And so the first are made the last and the last the first.⁴⁸⁵ For he will see what Peter had seen, and he will believe what the Latin Church believes so that they might from now on walk about together in harmony in the house of the Lord.

Mary, indeed, stood wailing outside the grave. Even as she wept, she stooped and peered into the grave, and she saw two seated angels in white robes, one at the head and one at the

⁴⁷⁷ The Father.

⁴⁷⁸ The Holy Spirit.

⁴⁷⁹ 1 Cor 14:33.

⁴⁸⁰ Dr. Christoph Egger convinced me that I should follow the text as it appears in *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:268, and PL 215:459, rather than accepting the reading of Haluścynskij, *Acta Innocentii*, 281, who transcribed *sicut* (so) rather than *scient* (they will know) here, resulting in the translation "so assuredly they will know. *Scient* appears three times in this sentence for rhetorical emphasis.

⁴⁸¹ The undestroyed remnant, or handful, that will return to Zion: Is 10:17-22; Rom 9:27-29.

⁴⁸² Hos 3:5.

⁴⁸³ Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fol. 144^{ra}: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:268, note 8.

⁴⁸⁴ Jn 20:8.

⁴⁸⁵ Mt. 19:30 and 20:16; Mk 10:31; Lk 13:30.

feet where the body of Jesus had lain. Surely the Greek people, having entered the Synagogue of the Jews, stand outside because they gaze in wonder at the exterior facade of the letter; not yet do they touch the inner marrow of truth. For the book, which a stretched-out hand unfolded for Ezekiel, was written on inside and out.⁴⁸⁶ And therefore she wails as if she were starving because, while she chews the exterior facade, in no way is the marrow within eaten, and one who pursues external things does not catch things that are internal. Since, therefore, she⁴⁸⁷ saw herself deceived by her expectation, at the end of time she will turn herself away from a hardness of heart, and peering into the grave, so to speak, she will more keenly examine His Law and will see two seated angels in white robes, one at the head and one at the feet: that is, interpreters of both the New and Old Testament, who speak harmoniously and plainly about Christ's divinity and humanity. She does not seek to learn from them, but they will chide her, saying: "Why do you search for the Living One among the dead?"⁴⁸⁸ For that reason they call her "woman,"⁴⁸⁹ as one who thinks not with a manly intellect but with feminine feeling, and therefore she says to them: "They have taken away my Lord and I do not know where they have put Him."⁴⁹⁰ Little by little she progresses to an understanding of the truth, during which she begins to understand that they have taken Jesus, which means "savior" or "salvific,"⁴⁹¹ from the Old Testament because the Old Law has guided no one to perfection⁴⁹² nor was anyone made righteous by its observance.⁴⁹³ But as yet she does not know where they put Him because she does not yet fully believe in the Gospel, in which Jesus is re-

⁴⁸⁶ Ezek 2:9.

⁴⁸⁷ Mary Magdalene, that is the "Judaized" Greek Church (inasmuch as Mary Magdalene also symbolizes the Jewish people). Just to make this tortured exegesis even more complex, Saint John is also the Greek Church and its people.

⁴⁸⁸ Lk 24:5. Note how Innocent has shifted Gospel accounts, going from John to Luke.

⁴⁸⁹ Jn 20:13.

⁴⁹⁰ Jn 20:13.

⁴⁹¹ Mt 1:21. *Joshua* (more correctly, *Yehosua*), the Hebrew name that became *Iesous* in Greek transliteration and *Jesus* in Latin, means "Yahweh is salvation."

⁴⁹² Heb 7:19.

⁴⁹³ Rom 3:20.

vealed. Finally, indeed, turning around⁴⁹⁴ to the truth of the Gospel, she will see Jesus standing, certainly not lying, but as yet she will not know Him to be Jesus because she believes Him to have been the Messiah and He had already come. For this reason she calls Him "her Lord, but she does not perceive that He is God. Then, indeed, Jesus asks her, "Woman, why do you weep? Whom do you seek?" because the grace of Christ will support her. But she, thinking Him to be the gardener, says to Him, "Sir, if you have buried Him... and so forth. Mary does not err in this judgment. For Jesus is the cultivator and caretaker of that garden of which one reads in the Song of Songs, "An enclosed garden, a private spring."⁴⁹⁵ Finally Jesus will call her by name when He turns the hearts of the fathers toward their sons,⁴⁹⁶ so that the remnant of Israel might be saved.⁴⁹⁷ And upon [her] replying "Raboni, He commands: "Do not touch me. For I have not yet ascended to the Father. Go, however, to my brothers and tell them 'I am ascending to my Father and your Father, my God and your God.'⁴⁹⁸ It is as if to say: "Although you believe me to be the Messiah promised by the Law and all the prophets, nevertheless you do not believe me the equal of God the Father. Go, therefore, to those who are my brothers by consensus, namely to the preachers of evangelical truth, and tell them. That is to say: Shout and believe with them that I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God. In short: I am consubstantial and equal in divinity with God the Father.

Now behold, brothers and sons, you can openly reap because finally God brings to divine completion⁴⁹⁹ through you in our time the already mentioned mystery, which He foresaw from all eternity and foreshadowed in the Gospel, though you understand that God produces this mystery though your min-

⁴⁹⁴ *Conversa retrorsum*. Not only is this the story of Jn 20:14, but it is a commentary on the Greek Church, which has been "converted back.

⁴⁹⁵ Song 4:12. This garden is, of course, the Church.

⁴⁹⁶ Lk 1:17.

⁴⁹⁷ Is 10:20-22. See note 481.

⁴⁹⁸ Jn 20:16-18.

⁴⁹⁹ Here I conclude *superius* goes with *adimplet* rather than with *prelibatum*. If one wishes to read it as modifying the latter, this would read: "God brings to completion though you...the mystery already mentioned *above*."

istry not as if it were by fortuitous chance but, to be sure, by an exalted plan⁵⁰⁰ so that in the future there might be one ock and one pastor. For, indeed, through provident stewardship the Author of time orders all temporal affairs, so that when the full number of gentiles enters the faith, then also all Israel will be saved.⁵⁰¹

Wherefore, we instruct and carefully exhort all of you and command you through this Apostolic letter: Faithfully expound lessons to the army, so that the feeling of devotion that the Christian army has toward its mother, the Roman Church, might be in amed; and take care to induce both our most beloved son in Christ, Baldwin, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, and the greater and lesser members of that army to strive to stabilize the kingdom of the Greeks in obedience to the Apostolic See, through whose agency the kingdom, doubtlessly, can be held onto, and without which dominion over it can by no means be held onto by them.

Issued in Rome at Saint Peter s on the Ides of November.

Reg. 7:201
June? 1204

In January 1205 envoys arrived at the papal court bearing three letters, all composed at Constantinople during the summer of 1204,⁵⁰² as well as a copy of the pact that the Frankish and Venetian crusaders had entered into in March 1204. Two of those letters and the copy of the March Pact were enregistered; the third letter, sent

⁵⁰⁰ This denial that the capture of Constantinople was due to fortuitous chance rather than divine plan is the basic theme of Gunther of Pairis's *HC*. The first half of the poetic section of Chapter 24 most clearly states this (see especially lines 3 and 5): *HC* in Orth, 178 (Andrea, *Capture*, 128). Was Gunther aware of this letter? It seems unlikely, inasmuch as Abbot Martin had left the company of the army at Constantinople probably in mid August 1204 and certainly by 8 September: *HC* in Orth, 168 (Andrea, *Capture*, 118 and 176-177, notes 290-291).

⁵⁰¹ Rom 11:25-26.

⁵⁰² Hageneder et al., date Regs. 7:201 and 202 as belonging to the second half of 1204: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7: 351 and 352. Madden has pointed out in an e-mail that Baldwin I left Constantinople on 1 July 1204 for a progress through Thrace, and events, especially his falling out with Boniface of Montferrat, kept him engaged in the north throughout July and August. So June is the likely month of composition—at least for Reg. 7:201.

by Marquis Boniface and Counts Louis and Hugh, was not entered into the papal registers, probably because it echoed the weightier Reg. 7:201, which Emperor Baldwin had sent. Whatever the reason, the crusader princes' letter is now lost, but its loss is not serious, given the preservation of the Latin emperor's letter.

In his short letter, Baldwin informed the pope of the accompanying copy of the March Pact, requested papal ratification of that document, assured Innocent of the Venetians' honest and zealous contributions to the crusade, and noted that their continued partnership was absolutely necessary for the future success of all their holy endeavors. In essence, Emperor Baldwin was trying his best to put into the best possible light two proposals that he knew would be a difficult sale: forgiveness of the unrepentant Venetians and papal confirmation of a pact entered into between Venetians, who at the time were still excommunicated, and the Franks. Not only had the pope instructed the army in his Letter of Advice of June 1203 to communicate with the Venetians as little as possible and not to fight the Lord's battle with them,⁵⁰³ but the pact compromised the rights of the captive Church of Constantinople, and it called for papal excommunication of those who violated its ordinances.⁵⁰⁴ Baldwin and the doge had to have been counting on the pope's continued belief that the crusaders were the agents of Divine Providence.

To the most holy Father and Lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff by the Providence of God, Baldwin, by that same grace the most faithful emperor in Christ of Constantinople, crowned by God, governor of the Romans and ever Augustus, count of Flanders and Hainaut, pledges, with due submission, humble obedience and devotion:

We remember having explained quite fully to Your Paternity through our messengers and letter our situation and the progress of the Christian army.⁵⁰⁵ Now, however, we have taken care to send you the articles of agreement between us and the pilgrims on the one side and the doge of Venice and the Vene-

⁵⁰³ Reg. 6:102.

⁵⁰⁴ Ernst Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, I, *Geschichte der Kaiser Baldwin und Heinrich, 1204-1216* (Homburg von der Höhe, 1905), 10-13, provides an analysis of Baldwin's discomfort regarding his having to sell the March Pact to the pope and his attempts to make it as palatable as possible.

⁵⁰⁵ Reg. 7:152.

tians on the other, validated by the bond of our seal before the storming of the royal city, quite attentively petitioning Your Holiness, as we are obligated to do, to ratify the said articles of agreement and to confirm them by the bond of Apostolic authority. Indeed, we want Your Holiness to know that we have had at the same time a good and faithful association with the aforementioned doge and Venetians, and we have found them to be very honorable colleagues and zealous for the honor of God, of the Holy Roman Church, and of our empire, as these deeds demonstrate, and we desire to have them as such in the future, inasmuch as their partnership would be useful and necessary for the governance of our empire, for the relief of the Holy Land, and for the preservation of church unity, and without their partnership and love our empire could not properly be guided toward the honor of God and of Your Holy See.

Reg. 7:202
June? 1204

If Baldwin had a tough case to sell, Enrico Dandolo faced an even greater task, given papal distrust of the crusaders from the city of Saint Mark. He had to defend their actions at Zara, argue that the diversion to Constantinople had never been a Venetian ploy, and present, in ways that the pope could accept, both the March Pact and the absolution that Cardinal Peter Capuano had finally extended to the Venetians sometime following his and Cardinal Sofredo's arrival in Constantinople from their post at Acre.⁵⁰⁶ The doge's letter, borne to Rome by two high-ranking Venetian envoys, served these many purposes well—at least for the time being.

To the venerable Father in Christ and Lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church by the grace of God, Enrico Dandolo, doge of Dalmatia and Croatia, your humble and faithful man at your service with all devotion:

I make note to Your Holiness that, although I took up the Cross in service of Jesus Christ and the Holy Roman Church

⁵⁰⁶ Regs. 7:223 and 8:127 (126).

and set out on an overseas journey from Venice, because of the imminent constraints of wintertime it became necessary for me to spend the winter with my feet and that of the pilgrims at Zara. Inasmuch as it was criminally rebellious toward me and the Venetians for a long while by reason of its betrayal of a sworn oath,⁵⁰⁷ I justly (so I judged) took vengeance on the city and citizens, according to the custom of mutual enemies. Indeed, because, as was rumored, it was under your protection, which I did not for that reason⁵⁰⁸ believe because I do not think that you or your predecessors would protect those who only assume the Cross in order to wear it, not even to complete the journey for which pilgrims normally assume the Cross but to acquire the possessions of another and to criminally hold them,⁵⁰⁹ Your Holiness saw fit to issue a sentence of excommunication against me and the Venetians. We patiently and humbly endured it until, upon giving suitable satisfaction, we earned absolution from Lord Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello and legate of the Holy Roman Church, according to the provisions set forth by your messengers, and though a page of writing it will become clearer to Your Holiness.⁵¹⁰

With (as we believe) divine inspiration rather than human planning overtaking events⁵¹¹ and Alexius, son of Isaac, the former emperor of Constantinople, turning up,⁵¹² we undertook the journey of traveling to Romania,⁵¹³ and (as it pleased the Lord) after he⁵¹⁴ had provided a guarantee regarding obedience to the Holy Roman Church, and after his uncle Alexius was expelled and the city of Constantinople captured by

⁵⁰⁷ The oath of loyalty owed an overlord.

⁵⁰⁸ Enrico refused to believe this unbelievable rumor.

⁵⁰⁹ With good reason, the Venetians maintained that King Emeric of Hungary and his brother Andrew had assumed the Cross only because of the protection it afforded them: Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, "Some Further Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 62 (1992): 449-450.

⁵¹⁰ Presumably this now-lost document was a written and sealed oath very much like the oath of the Frankish counts and barons that appears in Reg. 6:99.

⁵¹¹ *Superveniente*: which carries with it the sense of "unexpectedly arriving."

⁵¹² *Superveniente*: Through this parallelism (note 511) Dandolo argues that all of these events were unplanned by human minds and divinely directed.

⁵¹³ The empire of Constantinople.

⁵¹⁴ Alexius the Younger.

means of a good deal of peril and work, we took care to obtain this very thing, after first obtaining that same guarantee from Isaac, the father of this man, and his relatives and from many other magnates of the city. When they proved to be liars and perjurers regarding the said promise, we disavowed them as both enemies of the Holy Roman Church and traitors to Christendom. When they were killed (namely the father and the son) through Greek treachery and other Greeklings⁵¹⁵ were elevated [to the throne], who carried on the Greeks' troublesome and unceasing attacks in many varied ways, as much on sea (by sending burning ships against us in order to destroy our fleet by fire) as on land (by waging long-lasting battles), all the clerics and laity of the army conferred among themselves and certain agreements between us and them were entered into (as Your Holiness will be able to comprehend more clearly from the text of the transcript of the aforesaid covenants).⁵¹⁶ We decided that the city of Constantinople had to be conquered for the honor of God and the Holy Roman Church and the relief of Christendom. And with Christ's merciful help, your merit, and our industrious zeal, especially compared with other mortals, it was accomplished contrary to everyone's expectation. Therefore, once the city was captured and a great massacre of Greeks had taken place, Marcus, who was emperor at the time, led the city with his followers, and we implemented the pact as it had been set up and sworn to between us.

Therefore, Your Holiness should know that I, together with the Venetian people, in whatever we did, we labored for the honor of God and of the Holy Roman Church and for your honor, and likewise we know we labor of our free will. For this reason I implore Your Holiness that Your Holiness graciously deign to hear favorably and to grant the petitions that my messengers, noble and prudent men, namely Leonardo Navagaiso, my beloved nephew, and Andrea de Molino, whom we sent over to the feet of Your Holiness, will communicate.

⁵¹⁵ *Greculis*: a term of derision. This refers, of course, to Mourtzouphlus and Nicholas Kannavos (Canabus).

⁵¹⁶ The March Pact: Reg. 7:205.

Reg. 7:203
21 January 1205

Regardless of the whatever misgivings the pope had regarding the March Pact (Reg. 7:205) and Venetian machinations, he still remained euphoric over the miracle of April 1204, and the first of at least twelve letters to the crusaders at Constantinople that he dispatched between 21 January and mid February 1205⁵¹⁷ clearly shows the heights of that joy.

Writing once again to the crusade clergy, the pope picked up where he had left off in Reg. 7:154 and articulated more completely his vision of the ultimate meaning of the recent events at Constantinople. Using Luke's Gospel account of the miraculous catch of fish as his starting point, Innocent proclaimed that through the aid of the newly returned Greek Church several momentous events would follow: The ancient lands of Christianity would be fully and finally liberated from Islam; all Christians would return to the fold of Saint Peter, and many heathens would be converted; just as significantly, all of Israel would be saved. According to Joachim of Fiore, who wrote between 1183 and the later 1190s and whom Innocent had quoted in his earlier letter to the crusade army's clergy, such events would be integral aspects of the Holy Spirit's Sabbath Age of concord and purification, which would dawn around 1230 and whose basis would be laid in the Age of the Sixth Seal, which would dawn around 1200.⁵¹⁸ Although the highly influential Calabrian abbot is never mentioned in this letter nor is he quoted, his vision of the meaning and direction of history pervades this document.

So great was the pope's joy over witnessing this great moment in the God-directed history of salvation, at one point he abandoned the formal and usual papal "we," and in an almost unprecedented break with protocol began using "I," thereby expressing in an unusually personal manner his innermost thoughts and beliefs. This letter could not have been composed by anyone other than Inno-

⁵¹⁷ As noted below in reference to Reg. 7:207, there is reason to believe he sent a now-lost query to Cardinal Peter Capuano regarding his absolution of the Venetians.

⁵¹⁸ E. Randolph Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y. and London, 1992), 72-88.

cent, and these words were no half-hearted attempt to justify after the fact a turn of events that he was helpless to change. Rather, they were the words of Innocent the man of faith, who accepted as truth the prophecies of the Book of Revelation (as interpreted by Abbot Joachim) and believed he was privileged to witness miracles that presaged even greater events to come.

In the presence of such miracles, Innocent was prepared to excuse certain irregularities, such as the Venetians' seizure of the patriarchate of Constantinople as a veritable spoil of war and the uncanonical election of Thomas Morosini as the Latin patriarch. In order to "show favor to the Venetians in the hope that they might be tied more strongly to the service of the Cross," the pope chose and confirmed Thomas as the new patriarch, totally overlooking the claims of the still-living Greek patriarch, John X.

To the bishops, abbots and other clerics residing at Constantinople:

We have learned from the teachings of evangelical Scripture that when Jesus stepped up into one boat—the one that was Simon's—He requested that it be pulled a short distance from land and, while seated, he taught the multitudes from the little boat.⁵¹⁹ Just as the world is symbolized by the sea, so the Church is symbolized by the boat, and preaching is symbolized by the net. The boat of Simon is, therefore, the Church of Peter, which is correctly said to be "one" because the Catholic Church is one, which Christ entrusted to Peter's rule, so that unity excludes division. Moreover, Jesus steps up, in effect, into the boat of Simon whenever He causes the Church of Peter to step up, which has been manifestly evident since the time of Constantine, and from that time on, he who has had the power to rule⁵²⁰ has seen fit to request (as it is sweeter to lead by means of requests rather than by command) that they pull the boat a short distance from land: that is, that they gradually transfer the Church from earthly intercourse⁵²¹ to that which is heavenly or, rather, from a doctrine that adheres to the letter to a spiritual doctrine. And, while seated, He

⁵¹⁹ Lk 5:3.

⁵²⁰ The successor of Peter, the pope.

⁵²¹ *Consuetudine*.

taught the multitudes from the little boat, wherefore from then on He gave Peter a stable see, be it in the Lateran or the Vatican, and He gave him a teaching commission, wherefore from then on teachers began to be multiplied in Peter's Church, such as Leo,⁵²² Gregory,⁵²³ Gelasius,⁵²⁴ Innocent,⁵²⁵ and many others after them. However, "He ceased to speak for a while ⁵²⁶ whenever the discourse of preaching ceased in Peter's Church, not so much, perhaps, because of the unworthiness of the prelates as because of the malice of subordinates. Regarding this the Lord says to the prophet: "I will make your tongue cleave to your palate, and you will be mute and unlike a man who rebukes because a house is rebellious. ⁵²⁷ And so, as He ceased to speak He said to Simon: "Put out into the deep and lower the nets for a catch. ⁵²⁸ Then the boat is piloted into the deep when the Church is conveyed to lofty doctrine or is carried to a better situation.

However, I choose to be silent regarding whether the boat has been drawn into the deep in these days, lest I seem to commend myself, but I boldly affirm this one thing: I have lowered nets for a catch. Therefore Simon, as a truly obedient person who considers the entreaties of the Master to be law, said to Him by way of response: "Master, laboring throughout the entire night, we have caught nothing, yet at your word I will lower the net. ⁵²⁹ Certainly a night of frustration⁵³⁰ was a tremendous embarrassment. In a like manner, even though my predecessors labored greatly, they, nevertheless, caught almost absolutely nothing. But when I, at the word of God, lowered the net, I⁵³¹ and my brothers ensnared a rich multi-

⁵²² Pope Leo I (r. 440-461).

⁵²³ Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604).

⁵²⁴ Pope Gelasius I (r. 492-496).

⁵²⁵ Pope Innocent I (r. 401-417).

⁵²⁶ Lk 5:4.

⁵²⁷ Ezek 3:26.

⁵²⁸ Lk 5:4.

⁵²⁹ Lk 5:5.

⁵³⁰ This seems to be an oblique reference to Innocent's years of frustrating relations with Alexius III and Patriarch John X Camaterus.

⁵³¹ *Ego*: Apparently the scribe was initially so taken aback by this pontifical reference to self in the first person singular that he transcribed it as *ergo* (therefore), and then crossed it out and wrote *ego* above it.

tude of fishes, be it by converting pagans in Livonia through preachers dispatched there for the faith, or in Bulgaria or Vlachia by leading schismatics back to unity, or even in Armenia, seeking out those who have long been neglected by sending legates to those peoples. Indeed, what does "their net was being split open" ⁵³² symbolize if not that heretics are struggling to weaken Apostolic preaching so that some fish are escaping the nets? Yet, although they might have had a little success, still they will not prevail in the end because "the gates of Hell will not prevail against it." ⁵³³ When, moreover, they had ensnared a rich multitude of fishes, they signaled to their comrades, who were in another boat, to come and help them. ⁵³⁴ The other boat was the Greek Church, which had made itself "other" when it presumed to separate itself from the unity of the universal Church. And, indeed, we signaled them when we instructed them through our letters ⁵³⁵ and messengers to come and help us: that is, returning they take up again part of our burden as, so to speak, assistants in the stewardship that was laid upon us. And indeed, they have come by reason of the grace of God because, when the empire of Constantinople was transferred in these days from the Greeks to the Latins, the Church of Constantinople also returned to obedience to the Apostolic See, like a daughter to a mother and a member to a head, so that in the future an undivided fellowship might continue between us and them. To be sure, we acknowledge them as brothers, comrades, and friends because, although we hold an office of higher authority over them, still this higher authority does not carry with it dominion but rather servitude, in conformity with what the Lord said to the apostles: "The princes of the peoples are their masters, and they who have power over them are called benefactors. You, however, are not this way. Rather, he who is the greater among you will be the servant of all, and he who is superior in rank will be like an attendant." ⁵³⁶ Hence Peter the Apostle said: "Do not be like

⁵³² Lk 5:6.

⁵³³ Mt 16:18.

⁵³⁴ Lk 5:6.

⁵³⁵ Innocent's early letters to Alexius III or John X Camaterus: Regs. 1:353 and 354; 2:200 (209) and 202 (211); 5:121 (122).

⁵³⁶ Lk 22:25-26.

those among the clergy who dominate, but from the soul be a model of conduct to the flock. ⁵³⁷Therefore, our coming comrades have come, and by coming thus far they will be coming, so that what follows⁵³⁸ might be fulfilled: "And they lled up both boats to the point that they were almost swamped. ⁵³⁹Surely each boat is to be lled because they,⁵⁴⁰ who withdrew from obedience to each, will be returning to both the See of Rome and the Church of Constantinople, and then each will be almost swamped because it is necessary that scandals occur.⁵⁴¹ But God is faithful; He does not suffer His faithful to be tempted beyond their strength.⁵⁴² When, however, Simon Peter saw this, he fell at the knees of Jesus and said: "Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man. ⁵⁴³For wonder will envelop him and all those with him.⁵⁴⁴

And perceiving that they are now beginning to fulfill these things, I ought, in humility and devotion, to fall at the knees of the Savior, so that I might render thanksgiving to Him for such gifts. I am also able to say that, inasmuch as I am a sinful man, I am unworthy to delight in His so glorious presence. Indeed, I am enveloped by great wonder, along with those who are with me, at the novelty of such a miracle that has come to pass in these days. But lest, perchance, I be confounded by excessive wonder, I should carefully note that Jesus said to Simon, "Fear not, for from this moment you will be a catcher of humans, as if to say, "Be assured for certain that after you have caught fishes, that is, after you have brought back Christians, from then on you will catch humans, that is, you will convert Jews and pagans. Fish, who live in the water, symbolize Christians, who are reborn through water and the spirit; humans, however, who live on land, represent Jews and pagans, who gape at and cling to earthly things. But after all Christians have been entirely brought back to obedience to

⁵³⁷ Cf. 1 Pet 5:3.

⁵³⁸ In the Gospel account of Luke, which continues.

⁵³⁹ Lk 5:7.

⁵⁴⁰ The Armenians, Vlachs, et al. mentioned above.

⁵⁴¹ Mt 18:7.

⁵⁴² 1 Cor 10:13.

⁵⁴³ Lk 5:8.

⁵⁴⁴ Lk 5:9.

the Apostolic See, then a multitude of the heathens will enter the faith, and so all of Israel will be saved. Behold, therefore. Our comrades are coming to help us because the Greek Church is returning to obedience to the Apostolic See, so that, supported by their help, it⁵⁴⁵ might liberate its two sisters: namely, the churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, which are held captive under the yoke of the king of Egypt and unwillingly serve Pharaoh. Although in other respects there are five patriarchates in the world, to wit, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem,⁵⁴⁶ yet only three apostles are mentioned in regard to them, namely Peter, James, and John, who are said to have been made better by a similar wonderment,⁵⁴⁷ because indisputably three of them pertain in a special way to Peter, who personally consecrated the churches of Antioch and Rome by himself,⁵⁴⁸ and who consecrated Alexandria through his disciple Mark, whom he personally sent there.⁵⁴⁹ The Church of Constantinople, indeed, pertains in a special way to John, who preached to the Greeks in Asia and was entombed among the Greeks in Ephesus.⁵⁵⁰ The Church of Jerusalem, indeed, looks especially to James, either the son of Zebedee,⁵⁵¹ the first of the apostles to be killed, who consecrated Jerusalem by his martyrdom, or the son of Alphaeus,⁵⁵² whom the apostles ordained bishop of Jerusalem.⁵⁵³ And for

⁵⁴⁵ The Apostolic See.

⁵⁴⁶ The ecclesiological theory of *Pentarchy* that maintains the universal Church is guided by the five orthodox patriarchs. Although widely held in the East since the Council of Chalcedon (451), the West rejected this vision. Indeed, beginning with Pope Leo I (r. 440-461) and continuing at least through the reign of Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), the Roman Church even rejected the notion that Constantinople enjoyed patriarchal dignity. All of this changed after Gratian included several pentarchic canons in his *Concordance of Discordant Canons* of ca. 1140: *Decretum Gratiani*, D. 22, c. 6 and 7; Andrea, "Pope Innocent III, 526-544.

⁵⁴⁷ Lk 5:9-10.

⁵⁴⁸ I. e. he putatively established each as his episcopal see, first Antioch and then Rome.

⁵⁴⁹ The tradition that Alexandria was founded by Saint Mark, a disciple of Peter, was already old when Eusebius of Caesarea cited it in his *Ecclesiastical History* in the early fourth century: Shotwell, *See*, 80.

⁵⁵⁰ The metropolitanate see to which Byzantium had been subject prior to the establishment of Constantinople.

⁵⁵¹ James the Greater.

⁵⁵² James the Lesser (more correctly the "shorter").

⁵⁵³ Actually, this James, who appears in Acts 15 and elsewhere and is mentioned in First Corinthians, was not James the son of Alphaeus. He was a third James—the

this reason, perhaps, Jesus took these three apostles separately up a lofty mountain, and was transgured before them,⁵⁵⁴ and it does not seem contrary to reason that, inasmuch as the Roman pontiff has five patriarchal sees in the city⁵⁵⁵ due to the aforesaid reason, he is solemnly crowned only in three of them.⁵⁵⁶

It is clear from the foregoing, therefore, that our comrades are coming to help us because, as soon as the right hand of the Lord, which has been glorified in power, transferred the empire of Constantinople from the Greeks to the Latins, those who had been in the Latin army, wishing to provide for that empire with a worthy person, amicably elected an emperor from among the French leaders. However, so that the Venetians, who had participated in the labor, might equally partake of the honor, the lay members of the sworn association⁵⁵⁷ agreed that a worthy man from the Venetian clergy should be selected and advanced as patriarch of the Church of Constantinople. Therefore, when certain Venetian clerics had been assigned to serve the church of Sancta Sophia, lest they seem to be *Acephali*⁵⁵⁸ without a head, they took measures to place a pastor over themselves. They met in a body and unanimously elected as patriarch our beloved son, the subdeacon Thomas,⁵⁵⁹ and they humbly requested confirmation of his election from us through their own messengers, with that noble man, the doge of Venice, forcefully seeking⁵⁶⁰ the same thing through his own appointed messengers.⁵⁶¹ His Imperial Highness also entreated us in his letter⁵⁶² that we deign to rati-

brother of Jesus (Mt 13:55 and Mk 6:3). He was not one of the apostles.

⁵⁵⁴ Mt 17:1-9; Mk 9:2-10; Lk 9:28-36.

⁵⁵⁵ The churches of Saint John Lateran, Saint Peter, Santa Maria Maggiore, Saint Paul Outside the Walls, and Saint Lawrence Outside the Walls.

⁵⁵⁶ Saint Peter, Saint John Lateran, and Santa Maria Maggiore.

⁵⁵⁷ *In communi*: a reference to the leaders who had sworn the March Pact.

⁵⁵⁸ The image comes from the *Decretum Gratiani*, D. 93, c. 8. The term referred originally to those extreme Monophysite monks of Egypt who withdrew their allegiance from the more moderate Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria in 482 and became, thereby, "headless."

⁵⁵⁹ Thomas Morosini, Latin patriarch of Constantinople, 1205-1211.

⁵⁶⁰ Note the juxtaposition of moods; the clerics *humiliter postularunt*, but Dandolo acts *cum instantia requiente*. It seems Innocent just did not like Enrico Dandolo.

⁵⁶¹ See Reg. 7:202.

⁵⁶² Reg. 7:201.

fy the covenants between him and the pilgrims on one side and that doge and the Venetians on the other, entered into before the conquest of the royal city and confirmed by the surety of his seal, and that we confirm them by the surety of Apostolic authority. He wished us to know, as we gather from his words, that he had experienced a good and faithful association with the aforementioned doge and Venetians, and he had found them to be very honorable colleagues and zealous for the honor of God, of the Holy Roman Church, and of the empire of Constantinople, as their deeds testified, and he desired to have them as such in the future, inasmuch as the partnership of these same people would be useful and necessary for the governance of the empire, for the relief of the Holy Land, and for preserving church unity, and without both their partnership and love this same empire could not properly be guided toward the honor of God and of the Apostolic See. The noblemen Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and Counts Louis of Blois and [Hugh] of Saint-Pol also expressed the same message to us with the same words in their letter.⁵⁶³

We, therefore, ordering an examination in our presence of the text of these conventions that were warranted by the seals of the same emperor and of this marquis and these counts, have perceived to be contained in these same conventions the provision that the clergy of that party from which it happens the emperor is not taken shall freely elect for itself the patriarch. When, therefore, an election of this sort had been presented to us, although we and our brothers had sufficient acquaintance with the person elected due to a lengthy stay that he made at the Apostolic See quite a while ago, namely that we knew him to be a noble by birth, honorable in his ways, esteemed for his wisdom, and suitably skilled in the literary arts, nevertheless we examined the election, as is customary, and we found it to be in violation of canonical form. This is not so much due to the fact that a challenge was lodged by many and even an appeal⁵⁶⁴ by some (although later the chal-

⁵⁶³ Never enregistered and now lost, this letter, like Baldwin's brief letter (Reg. 7:201), probably was meant to accompany the copy of the March Pact sent to the pope.

⁵⁶⁴ The *DC* mentions this appeal, and my note that states there is no evidence beyond the *DC* of this appeal is erroneous: Andrea, "*Devastatio*," 149, note 90.

lenge and the appeal were both withdrawn), but it is due to the fact that, since no power whatsoever has been given the laity to manage ecclesiastical matters for members of religious communities,⁵⁶⁵ the patriarch ought not to have been and could not have been elected to the Church of Constantinople on the authority of some secular prince. But the Venetian clerics who call themselves the elected canons of Sancta Sophia had not possessed the right of election in that very church, since they were not established in the church by us or by our legates or delegates. For this reason, on the general advice of our brethren, we have taken care to declare this election null in open consistory. But yet, since a transgression by people ought not to ood over to the injury of churches and since the subdeacon himself had not committed any fault, inasmuch as he had been absent and was elected without seeking it, mindful of the prayers of the aforesaid emperor, which seemed to hint at what is not only advantageous but what is even truly necessary, and wishing to provide for that same church, whose organization has particularly concerned us, and wishing to show favor to the Venetians in the hope that they might be tied more strongly to the service of the Cross of Christ, out of the plenitude of power conferred on us, we have elected and con rmed this same man, our subdeacon, a member of the Apostolic See, so to speak, as patriarch to that very church. We, therefore, instruct all of you quite carefully and command you through this Apostolic letter that you pay heed with prompt devotion to what we have decided after prudent deliberation.

Issued in Rome at Saint Peter s on the eleventh day before the Kalends of February.

Reg. 7:204

Ca. 21 January 1205

The pope s rst of two letters to Emperor Baldwin, composed around 21 January 1205, largely repeated verbatim that portion of the letter to the crusader clergy dealing with the election of

⁵⁶⁵ *Decretum Gratiani*, D. 96, c. 1 and 6; C.16, q. 7, c. 24.

Thomas Morosini and ordered the Latin emperor to receive the new patriarch with due honor, to venerate him as his spiritual shepherd, and to defend his rights.

As a scribal note indicates, a similar letter was sent to Doge Enrico Dandolo. As it turned out, this was the first of four known letters sent to the leader of Venice in about a two and a half week period between late January and early February. The doge was figuring prominently in Innocent's thoughts.

To Baldwin, Illustrious emperor of Constantinople:

After the right hand of the Lord, which has been glorified in power **etc. as above up to** *patriarch to that same church.* ⁵⁶⁶

We, therefore, instruct, counsel, and exhort Your Imperial Highness to receive and honor that patriarch in a courteous manner when he arrives in the city of Constantinople and to humbly venerate him as bishop and pastor of your soul and to support and defend him in his rights and in the church entrusted to him, so honoring him in earthly matters that you might deserve being honored by him in heavenly matters, whose minister he is.

Dated as in the others.

There is a letter in the same vein to the noble man, the doge of Venice.

Reg. 7:205

The March Pact

The next document to be enregistered was the March Pact, placed in this order of sequence for reasons one can only guess at. The pact, an act of extraordinary but merited self assurance in the face of difficult and potentially disastrous circumstances, laid the basis for what became the Latin empire of Constantinople a short time later, and some of its provisions were sure to provoke papal ire. Given its controversial nature, it is no wonder that Emperor Baldwin delayed sending a copy of it to Rome for several months following his coronation.

⁵⁶⁶ A note made by the papal scribe.

In the Name of the Eternal God, Amen. Truly have we, Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and Counts Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, Louis of Blois and Clermont, and Hugh of Saint Pol, on behalf of our party, along with You, Celebrated Man, the Lord Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia, and with your party besides, drawn up an agreement that is to be observed by each party under a binding oath, in order to secure unity and lasting concord between us and to avoid every occasion of discord, with the help of Him who is our Peace and who made both sides as one to His praise and great glory.

In the first place, we ought to storm the city with an armed band of all our men, after having invoked the name of Christ, and if we enter the city with the help of Divine Power, we should stay and proceed under the leadership of those men who will be chosen as leaders over the army and follow them in accordance with what will be ordained. Indeed, all treasure found within the city by whomever ought to be brought and placed in the appointed common location. Out of this treasure, moreover, three parts should be paid to you and the Venetian people in place of that treasure which the former emperor Alexius was obliged to pay you and us. The fourth part, in truth, we ought to keep for ourselves, as long as we are equal participants in its liberation.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, should there be anything left over, we ought to divide it in half between you and us, as long as you have been paid in full. If, in fact, there is less, to the point that it is not sufficient for paying off the aforementioned debt, regardless of where the treasure was first acquired, we ought to keep to the aforesaid agreement in regard to that treasure⁵⁶⁸ but with the exception of food, which should be guarded and divided equally between your people and our people, so that each party can be adequately sustained from that time on. Moreover, whatever surplus there is ought to be divided in another treasure trove according to the aforementioned agreement.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ According to Queller and Madden, at his death, Alexius IV owed the Venetians 150,000 marks and the Franks 50,000: *FC*², 175.

⁵⁶⁸ I.e. the Venetians will receive three-fourths of the insufficient booty.

⁵⁶⁹ If there is more than enough food to sustain both parties, the surplus will be set aside in its own trove to be divided according to the formula 3:1. As soon as the

Also, without any dispute, you and the Venetian people ought to have freely and unconditionally throughout the entire empire all the honors and possessions, both spiritual and temporal, that you formerly had come to possess, as well as all legal claims or customs, which are written and unwritten.⁵⁷⁰

Also six people should be chosen to represent your party and six to represent our party, who, bound by oath, ought to choose that person from the army who they believe knows better how to hold, and can better hold, and knows better how to organize the land and the empire for the honor of God, the Roman Church, and the empire. And if they are of one mind, we should have him as emperor — he whom these men have harmoniously chosen. If, in fact, six are united in opinion in one party and six are united in the other, a lot should be cast, and we should have as emperor him on whom the lot will fall, and if more agree in one party than in the other, we will have as emperor him on whom the larger party agreed. To be sure, if there are more than two parties, let him be emperor on whom the larger party has agreed. Indeed, this emperor should have an entire quarter portion of the empire that has been acquired and the Blakerna Palace and the Bucoleon Palace. The remaining three parts, indeed, should be divided in half between us and you.

Let it also be understood that the clergy who are from that party from which the emperor was not chosen will have authority to organize the church of Sancta Sophia and to elect the patriarch for the honor of God, the holy Roman Church, and the empire. Certainly, the clerics of each party ought to organize those churches that have come into the possession of their party. To be sure, sufficient quantities of the possessions of the churches ought to be provided to the clerics and the churches so that they might live and be sustained in an honorable fashion. The remaining possessions of the churches, indeed, should be divided and distributed in accordance with the aforesaid agreement.

Over and above this, we should certainly swear, both on

Venetians receive all that is owed them from this distribution, the formula will become 1:1.

⁵⁷⁰ Queller and Madden, "Further," 450-455, outline these well.

our part and on yours, that from the last day of the present month of March, we ought to remain here for up to a full year for the purpose of supporting the empire and the emperor for the honor of God, the holy Roman Church, and the empire. Certainly thereafter and into the future, all who remain in the empire ought to be bound to that very emperor by an oath, in accordance with good and reasonable custom, and they who then remain in the empire, as was said, ought to swear that they will hold firm and stable the shares and divisions⁵⁷¹ that have been made.

Moreover, it should be understood that twelve people from our and your party⁵⁷² (or more on behalf of [each] party) ought to be chosen, who, bound by oath, should distribute fiefs and honors among the people and assign duties that these people are obliged to render to the emperor and the empire, in accordance with what will seem to be good and will appear to be agreeable to them. To be sure, each person to whom a fief has been assigned will hold it free and clear from heir to heir, both male and female, and they shall have full power henceforward to do whatever they wish, saving, of course, the rights and duties⁵⁷³ of the emperor and the empire. The emperor, in fact, ought to perform the rest of the duties that should be performed,⁵⁷⁴ except for those that they, who will hold the fiefs and honors, will perform in accordance with the arrangement enjoined upon them.

It is also decided that no person of any people who are in a state of open war with you and your successors or with the Venetian people may be received in the empire until that war has been turned to peace.

Let each party also be obligated to doing business in good faith, so that we can procure from the lord pope the provision that should anyone be tempted to go against this ordinance, he would be bound by the chain of excommunication. Over and above this, the emperor ought to swear that he will irrevoc-

⁵⁷¹ The fiefs into which the empire will be divided.

⁵⁷² A total of twenty-four persons: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:36, sec. 234.

⁵⁷³ The emperor's unique duties: e.g. vassals cannot exercise certain types of juridical authority.

⁵⁷⁴ All duties (and their powers) are reserved to the emperor except for...

cably hold firm and stable the divisions and allotments that have been made according to the arrangement defined above. If, indeed, anything in all of these matters needs to be added or subtracted, let it be in your power and discretion and that of your six counselors and of the lord marquis and his six counselors.⁵⁷⁵

It also should be understood that you, aforementioned Lord Doge, are not obligated to render an oath to the emperor, who will be elected, or to the empire to perform any services for any concession, gift, or honor that ought to be allotted you. Nevertheless, those people or that person whom you place in your stead over these things that have been allotted you should be bound by oath to render all service to the emperor and the empire in accordance with every ordinance set forth above.

Issued in the year of the Lord 1204, in the month of March, the seventh year of the indiction.⁵⁷⁶

Reg. 7:206
29 January 1205

Addressed to Doge Enrico, this letter articulates the problems that Pope Innocent had with the March Pact—a pact to which he was being asked to lend the weight of papal authority through the sanction of excommunication. As the pope noted, three aspects of the pact argued against his doing so. First, it wrongly treated ecclesiastical possessions as plunder. Second, the pact diminished the honor of the Apostolic See, notwithstanding its claims to the contrary. Third, the papacy was being asked to place the power of papal excommunication behind unknown statutes that might be enacted in the future by lay people—statutes that could conceivably violate canon law. That said, however, the pope quietly dropped the subject, at least for the moment. He would return to the subject a few days later in his letter of 8 February to Emperor Baldwin (*Reg.*

⁵⁷⁵ Madden and Queller interpret this to mean that the treaty acknowledged Boniface of Montferrat as the obvious candidate for the imperial throne and thus provided for the pact's amendment by the combined efforts of the marquis and the six Frankish electors and the doge and the six Venetian electors: *FC*², 282, note 24.

⁵⁷⁶ An ancient Roman fifteen-year cycle that was adopted for some medieval calendrical systems.

7:208), but for now he contented himself with informing Dandolo of the pact's laws and instructing the doge that no possessions of the Church of Constantinople should be distributed by any lay person prior to the arrival in the city of the new patriarch, lest his rights be compromised and his church suffer a loss.

In this period of good will and lowered voices, Innocent also diplomatically took up the issue of Dandolo's request that he be dispensed from his crusade vow due to age and infirmity. The pope refused the request, at least for the moment, for three reasons: The crusaders needed Dandolo's oft-vaunted wisdom (an argument that must have given the papal curia a certain amount of glee); the pope feared the army's break up; and the doge might leave himself open to charges that he was more concerned with vanquishing his own enemies rather than those of Christ (undoubtedly another argument that struck the papal curia as richly ironic). That said, however, the pope left the subject open for reconsideration in the future in light of the fact that the army proposed to delay the crusade in order to solidify its hold on the empire. The March Pact had made it clear that the crusaders bound themselves to remain in the new Latin empire of Constantinople for a full year from 31 March 1204 to 31 March 1205, and Innocent never questioned that provision in the pact—at least not in any surviving letter. This letter suggests strongly that the pope had learned of further planned delays, again for strategic reasons, and he was open to the possibility of approving them. He certainly appears to be saying that should he decide that the doge could best serve Christendom by remaining in Constantinople, and if it would also be advantageous for the army to tarry a bit longer in the empire, then he would so order it. As we shall see, the pope ruled on this latter issue, the army's extended stay in Constantinople and the other regions of the empire, a few months later.⁵⁷⁷

The letter ends with a mild reproof in the form of a gentle exhortation. Dandolo must now serve God and defend His ministers and churches, since he has already fruitfully served himself, and the pope promises in that case to work for the doge's honor, as far as he can. Notwithstanding a continuing distrust of the Venetians, the pope was ready to do business with them, as long as he re-

⁵⁷⁷ Reg. 8:64 (63).

ceived some positive signs of their repentance and zeal for Christendom.

To the noble man, the doge of Venice:

We courteously received your messengers, our beloved sons Leonardo and Andrea,⁵⁷⁸ noble citizens of Venice, who came to the Apostolic See, and we carefully listened to those matters that they took pains to relate personally to us. Accordingly, when they were in our presence, they asserted that certain articles of agreement had been amicably entered into between you and the Venetians on the one side and our most beloved son in Christ Baldwin, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, and the French on the other, which they sought to safeguard through the Apostolic See under penalty of excommunication, lest someone presume to violate them, with the manifest result that whoever might in the future contravene them would lie under the sentence of excommunication.

However, upon conducting a diligent discussion with our brothers regarding this primary petition, we discovered three items that totally pleaded against this petition. Namely, there is this section in these articles of agreement where it is written that ecclesiastical possessions are to be divided between the Venetians and the French, with a portion reserved for the clerics from which they can be honorably supported. Inasmuch as it is clear that the violent hand that plunders church treasuries offends the Creator, those who rob despoiled churches of their treasured possessions incur a grave sin, and it is not appropriate for the Apostolic See to protect in this manner those who so offend ecclesiastical dignity. Moreover, since these agreements were entered into for the honor of the Roman Church (and it is stated in almost each section that everything redounds to its honor), we ought not and cannot confirm what, contrary to the oath sworn jointly by each party, diminishes the honor of the Apostolic See. Besides, since the power of augmenting or reducing [the articles of agreement] was conferred on you and on six of your counselors and on the nobleman, the marquis of Montferrat, and six of his coun-

⁵⁷⁸ See Reg. 7:202.

selors, how are we to rest our sentence on the will of lay people with the result that people might incur the sentence of excommunication who have not paid heed to lay statutes that are unknown to us and possibly contrary to the sacred canons? Since our beloved son Thomas, patriarch-elect of Constantinople, should soon arrive in Constantinople, none of the possessions of the Church of Constantinople should be distributed by the laity or confirmed by us before his arrival because it could redound to the prejudice of his rights and a loss to his church.

Secondly, indeed, the same messengers humbly requested of us on your behalf that, inasmuch as you are weakened by the feebleness of age and broken down by labor, we deign to absolve you from the vow of taking a pilgrimage, although at the same time you wish and can effectively see to it that the army of those signed [with the Cross] sails to the aid of the Holy Land. In these circumstances we are mindful that your honest circumspection, the acuteness of your lively innate character, and the maturity of your quite sound advice would be beneficial to the Christian army far into the future. Inasmuch as the aforesaid emperor and the crusaders ardently praise your zeal and solicitude and, among [all] people, they trust particularly in your discretion, we have not considered approving this petition for the present time, lest either we be blamed by someone or other should the army that has been prepared to aid the Holy Land break up on this account, or some one or other could fault you, claiming that you took up the sign of the Cross not out of homage to Him Crucified, if, having now avenged the injury done you and yours, you do not avenge the dishonor done Jesus Christ, and having vanquished your enemies, you neglect to vanquish the enemies of the faith. Since it is true, as we believe, that the crusaders now propose to delay the planned pilgrimage and to remain longer in the regions of Romania in order to solidify the empire, we will give fuller thought regarding your status and the army's needs and, with the Lord granting it, we shall decide what seems to us to be advantageous.

Consequently, we instruct Your Nobility and exhort you in the Lord and command you through this Apostolic letter that, since you have thus far served the world and have gained not

a little glory from it, in the future you should serve the Lord faithfully and give honor not to yourself but to His Name, honoring His ministers and defending churches according to His plan, so that you might merit to be defended and protected by Him who leaves no good deed unrewarded and no bad deed unpunished, knowing for certain that, as far as we can honorably do so, we will work effectively for your honor. Issued in Rome at Saint Peter's on the third day before the Kalends of February.

Reg. 7:207

Ca. 29 January 1205

Innocent's third letter to the doge continued that policy of firmness born of a barely masked distrust but also a clear willingness to reach an accommodation. In that letter of circa 29 January, the pope acknowledged that he considered the Venetians absolved of their excommunication, by virtue of the action of Cardinal Peter Capuano. After all, he had to support a decision honestly made by a duly appointed legate. At the same time, however, Innocent showed his reluctance to let the Venetians off too easily—a reluctance based undoubtedly on his continuing distrust of them. He noted that he considered the Venetians absolved as long as the customary ecclesiastical form was followed. Should the Venetians have neglected any necessary condition for absolution (surely a reference to the oath to render restitution to the king of Hungary that had been obtained from the crusader barons),⁵⁷⁹ then they were to rectify the oversight. The letter ends with the observation that Innocent expected more precise information concerning this whole matter from Cardinal Peter's reply—apparently to a now-lost letter of inquiry dispatched to the cardinal legate around this same time.

To the noble man, Enrico, doge of the Venetians:

You have made known through your letter to us that you, along with your people, obtained the benefit of absolution by order of our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church

⁵⁷⁹ Reg. 6:99. There is, however, no evidence that the crusaders ever honored that oath, and there is also no evidence that Innocent ever attempted seriously to compel them to do so.

of San Marcello, a legate of the Apostolic See. Wherefore, placing faith in the said letter, we consider you and your people absolved of the bond of excommunication and, if the customary form of the Church was observed in your absolution, we are pleased and agreeable. Otherwise, we wish and command that whatever is missing be made good, lest we seem to have neglected anything in respect to you that could be adduced to the Church's prejudice in the future. We expect, however, to receive more precise information regarding this from that same cardinal's response.

Dated as in the others.

Reg. 7:208

8 February 1205

On 8 February 1205 Innocent delivered his definitive and unequivocal answer to the Latin emperor's request that he undergird the March Pact with the force of papal ecclesiastical sanctions. In a series of four letters the pope informed Emperor Baldwin, Doge Enrico, the crusader prelates, and the crusader marquis and counts that he could and would not confirm that pact because it violated the rights and possessions of the Church of Constantinople and, by extension, would dishonor the Apostolic See.

The scribe charged with enregistering these letters quoted completely the letter to Baldwin and also quoted those passages of the letter to Dandolo that differed from Baldwin's letter. He then simply noted, without quoting them, that similar letters were sent to the bishops and abbots and to the marquis of Montferrat and all the counts.

It is interesting to note that the text unique to the letter to Doge Dandolo (which has been set off in bold), is much more severe in tone than the letter to Emperor Baldwin. Nowhere in his letter to Baldwin did the pope threaten excommunication should he or anyone else presume to divide up as spoils of war the possessions of the Church of Constantinople. Yet, Innocent informed Dandolo that he had instructed the crusader prelates to lay a sentence of excommunication without appeal on the doge or anyone else who presumed to divide up church goods. This might have been a moment of euphoria and good will so far as the pope was concerned, and he might even have been willing to accommodate the Venetians within

reason, but apparently they were still, in his mind, people who had earned his distrust many times over, and he wanted to remind them of that fact.

To Baldwin, Illustrious Emperor of Constantinople:

It will be quite clear to you from the other letter that we sent over to Your Imperial Highness how we have taken care of the disposition of the matter regarding our beloved son Thomas Morosini, patriarch-elect of Constantinople.⁵⁸⁰ Indeed, because certain covenants between you and the pilgrims on one side and the noble man, Doge Enrico, and the Venetians on the other were entered into and confirmed by oath and guaranteed by your seal and those of the noblemen Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and the counts of Blois and Saint Pol on the text of these articles of agreement, which we arranged to have examined in detail in our presence, we perceived elements contained therein by which, if they were strictly followed, the Church of Constantinople would be damaged more than a little and the Apostolic Office would be diminished, since the head cannot be immune from the pain of its members nor can the head feel pain without the members also suffering. Wishing to stand by that same Church, as we are bound to, we have decided not to grant the request for confirmation of those same agreements that you took pains to present to us. For expressly included in these agreements was the provision that ecclesiastical possessions should be divided between the Franks and the Venetians, with a portion reserved for the clerics from which they can be honorably supported. Therefore, inasmuch as it is not possible for this to be ventured⁵⁸¹ without injury to the Creator, the oath that was given on this matter appears to be totally illicit and might rather be called a false oath, except for the fact that "saving the honor of the Apostolic See" had been added to that very oath.

Therefore, because the honor of the Roman Church could not be kept unharmed should the Church of Constantinople, which is a special member of the Apostolic See, sustain a loss through the carving up of its possessions, we quite attentively

⁵⁸⁰ Reg. 7:204.

⁵⁸¹ *Attemptari*: which often has a negative connotation (to encroach upon; to attack).

entreat and advise and enjoin you for the remission of your sins that, out of consideration for Him who raised you to the throne and since you have His spouse⁵⁸² mercifully entrusted to you, you do not in any way proceed to a division of her possessions and you do not permit them to be divided up by others, so that, with the rights of His Church preserved inviolate (as is fitting), you might merit, beyond a heavenly reward, to be confirmed on the throne of the empire by Him whose spouse you will have taken care to honor. Moreover, you ought to heed this so much more willingly given that, out of greater devotion, you swore in your coronation that you would support the churches in their rights and defend them in their legal claims.

Issued in Rome at Saint Peter's.

In almost the same mode to the noble man, the doge of Venice, up to *we...advise*:⁵⁸³ **strictly forbidding you through this Apostolic letter in the power of God not to attempt to proceed to the division of ecclesiastical possessions nor to permit it to be tried by others, insofar as you have the ability to do so. Moreover, because we cannot and ought not to tolerate this patiently, we have sent quite strict orders to the bishops and abbots residing with the army at Constantinople that, by means of ecclesiastical censure, with the obstruction of any sort of litigation or appeal set aside, they are to compel you and others who might aim at dividing up ecclesiastical possessions to cease from a presumption of this sort, and should it have been attempted, they should, by means of the same sanction, see that the situation is restored to its pristine state.**

Issued in Rome at Saint Peter's on the fifth day before the Ides of February.

There is a letter on this subject to these bishops and abbots. In the same mode to the noblemen, the marquis of Montferrat and all the counts of the Christian army.

⁵⁸² The Church of Constantinople.

⁵⁸³ What follows is the text unique to the letter to Dandolo.

Reg. 7:223
Ca. 17 February 1205

Upon hearing of the army's second capture of Constantinople, the two cardinal legates left Acre and sailed to the capital of the new Latin empire of Constantinople. As we saw in Reg. 7:202, upon arrival, Cardinal Peter lifted the ban of excommunication that the Venetians had lain under since November 1202. Around mid February 1205 the pope wrote Cardinal Peter regarding the legates' abandonment of the Holy Land. Although disturbed by their precipitous and perhaps unwarranted journey, Innocent only gently rebuked his two cardinals and even cast about for reasons that might excuse their action. What is more, although he ordered one or the other of them to continue to guide the province of Jerusalem, he also widened their legatine commission to include Constantinople, until a specially appointed Apostolic legate arrived there. In this era of good feeling and radical changes that promised ever so much, Innocent was willing to excuse much in order to secure the God-given gift of Constantinople.

To Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, legate of the Apostolic See:

We have learned from the report of many and your messenger told us that you and our beloved son Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Saint Prassede and legate of the Apostolic See, have arrived in Constantinople from the province of Jerusalem. We make a distinction regarding whether the two of you traveled to the army of the crusaders, over whom you received legatine duty, for the sake of needed aid for the Holy Land⁵⁸⁴ or whether you traveled over to the aforementioned regions for the sake of setting in order the churches of the Greeks. In the first case, we do not disapprove of your⁵⁸⁵ journey, but in the second case (for we speak without meaning to disturb your peace of mind), not only we but also our brothers

⁵⁸⁴ An unregistered and undated report to the pope, which the two legates composed sometime shortly before their departure from Acre, states that they were preparing to go to Constantinople "to guide and aid the pilgrims who labor there in service to Christendom": *Gesta Innocentii III.*, Gress-Wright, 302; PL 214:clix.

⁵⁸⁵ From here up to "Your Discretion", "you" is consistently plural.

judge this to be an ill-advised action, inasmuch as you received no authority from us on these matters. On the other hand, perhaps this moment of unexpected change might free both of you from blame, especially since our most beloved son in Christ, Baldwin, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople, petitioned us through a letter and messengers that we deign to send legates to those regions from our court, and following the advice of our brothers, we have arranged to do that at an opportune time.⁵⁸⁶

In order, moreover, that we might out of special favor provide for your honor,⁵⁸⁷ lest you be excessively rebuked, and so that we might take care of the province of Constantinople through your solicitude, lest it lack a caregiver any longer, we grant the both of you, so that you might in the meanwhile function in our place, authority to do those things that seem to you to promote the glory of the Divine Name, the honor of the Apostolic See, and the well-being of both the clergy and the people. You are to take special care that you not leave the province of Jerusalem, to which you were particularly assigned, totally forsaken, as it were, especially since with your arrival it has had a patriarch who exercised pastoral care over it, but with your departure a patriarch is missing,⁵⁸⁸ wherefore no one remains in that province who might exercise a pastoral office over it. For this reason, instructing Your Discretion⁵⁸⁹ through this Apostolic letter, we command that, along with the aforementioned legate,⁵⁹⁰ you diligently see to it that, until there is guidance through another means for that land,⁵⁹¹ one of the two of you offer helpful aid to that same land, and the

⁵⁸⁶ See Reg. 8:56 (55).

⁵⁸⁷ *Honori*: This seems to have here the technical meaning of "office" or "mission."

⁵⁸⁸ Although the letter is addressed to Cardinal Peter and the "you" is plural, this especially refers to Cardinal Soffredo. Patriarch Aymar the Monk (r. 1194-1202) had died in the summer or fall of 1202. In early 1203, King Aimeric and the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulcher elected Soffredo to replace him as patriarch of Jerusalem. Although Soffredo refused the honor, he had been functioning as the head of the Church of Jerusalem in the absence of a duly elected and consecrated patriarch. In Reg. 7:222 of 17 February 1205, Innocent exhorted Bishop Albert of Vercelli (r. 1185-1205) to accept election to the patriarchate: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:393-395. Albert accepted and served as patriarch until his death in 1214.

⁵⁸⁹ Singular.

⁵⁹⁰ Soffredo.

⁵⁹¹ Jerusalem.

two of you should not make haste to return⁵⁹² before you have received a special Apostolic order regarding this. Dated as in the others.

Reg. 8:56 (55)
15 May 1205

Three months later, on the Ides of May, Innocent informed Emperor Baldwin that the promised Apostolic legate, Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna, was on his way to Constantinople to "root out and destroy, build up and plant whatever he might deem necessary in the Church of Constantinople, the Roman Church's special and first daughter. Still caught up in the glow of this unexpected miracle, which had transferred the Greek empire "from the disobedient and the superstitious to the sons of obedience and the pious, Innocent optimistically looked forward to bringing the Greek Church into conformity with Latin belief and rite.

To Baldwin, Illustrious Emperor of Constantinople:
After His other garments had been divided up, the seamless tunic of Jesus Christ fell to a single individual by lot,⁵⁹³ just as His Church, which He put on like a garment, is one, and in it one might be saved, as in the Sheep Pool, outside of which a vast body of in r m people abide.⁵⁹⁴ For, truly, the wicked walk around it in a circle and are unable to enter it in order to be saved, since a divided mind can accomplish nothing (and neither can one enter a territory along two paths).⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, so that the undiminished unity of this Church might be preserved, the Lord appointed for it one head and master, namely Saint Peter, so that, as with Noah's ark, outside of which living beings abandoned in the ood are drowned, he might unite [it] within [the space of] a single cubit⁵⁹⁶ he for whose faith, lest he⁵⁹⁷ fail during His Passion, Christ especially prayed, enjoining him to strengthen his brothers when he later

⁵⁹² Presumably to Rome.

⁵⁹³ Jn 19:28.

⁵⁹⁴ Jn 5:2-7.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Mt 6:24.

⁵⁹⁶ See the God-directed plans for the ark: Gen 6:16.

⁵⁹⁷ Peter.

turned back.⁵⁹⁸ Notwithstanding, the Greek Church, turning away from unity up to the present time, withdrew from His teaching by wandering after the flocks of its companions⁵⁹⁹ and, led astray like a pigeon in the manner of Ephraim,⁶⁰⁰ it called upon Egypt and hastened forth to the Assyrians.⁶⁰¹ That Church, which by virtue of age ought to have been the teacher, appears, on the contrary, to stand in need, so that she must be taught the first principles of the beginning of God's Words because she sinned against Him Who teaches every truth, and inasmuch as the Goodness of the Father and the Son must be one,⁶⁰² one infers that the sin committed against Him proceeded⁶⁰³ from a wickedness that lacks any sort of grounds for excuse. Also, she⁶⁰⁴ did not throw out leaven from the house,⁶⁰⁵ so that she sinned against Him from Whom she refuses to confess that the Holy Spirit proceeds, not considering, as she should, that he who dishonors the Son also injures the Father, Who is one with Him. Therefore, like Ephraim in his bitter offenses, she has provoked the Lord to anger⁶⁰⁶ by parting from the teaching of him who deserved to be called Cephas (that is, "head, "),⁶⁰⁷ retreating from Judah by having placed her throne in Samaria, on account of which blood poured over her,⁶⁰⁸ consumed by her very own iniquity like the Amorite people.⁶⁰⁹ For the Lord called upon His sanctified and mighty people, and they entered her gates. Through them,⁶¹⁰ with an evil people brought to an evil ruin, He hand-

⁵⁹⁸ When Peter turned back to Christ following his momentary denial of the Lord on Holy Thursday evening: Lk 22:31-34.

⁵⁹⁹ Song 1:7.

⁶⁰⁰ The northern kingdom of Israel, which fell to the Assyrians because of its sinful ways.

⁶⁰¹ Hos 7:11.

⁶⁰² The *Filioque* issue; see Reg. 7:154.

⁶⁰³ Note the ironic use of this verb.

⁶⁰⁴ The Greek Church.

⁶⁰⁵ Deut 16:4; Lev 2:4-5 and 11; *ibid.*, 7: 11-13. This is a reference to the Greek custom of using leavened bread in the sacrifice of the Mass, whereas the Latin Church used *azyme*, or unleavened bread.

⁶⁰⁶ Hos 12:15.

⁶⁰⁷ Actually, *Cephas* is Aramaic for "rock" (*petros* in Greek).

⁶⁰⁸ The conquest of the kingdom of Israel (Samaria) by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.

⁶⁰⁹ Num 21:21-30.

⁶¹⁰ The crusaders.

ed over His vineyard to be tended by other cultivators, who would return its fruit to Him at the proper time,⁶¹¹ with the Greek empire transferred from the disobedient and the superstitious to the sons of obedience and the pious, who might offer up the offerings of their lips⁶¹² on an altar pleasing to the Lord. Therefore, with the transferral of empire, it is necessary that the priestly rites be transferred, so that Ephraim, who has returned to Judah, might feast upon the *azymes*⁶¹³ of sincerity and truth, the old leavened bread having been thrown out.⁶¹⁴

Moreover, so that the aforementioned Church might be more fully instructed in devotion and the purity of faith according to the institutions of the most holy Roman Church, which the Lord appointed as mother and teacher of all churches, we, who are bound to manage the care of all churches and whom the Lord commanded, in the person of Saint Peter, to feed His sheep,⁶¹⁵ desire to visit that, as it were, special and first⁶¹⁶ daughter. Seeing that unremitting affairs, with which we are encumbered more than is usual, do not permit us to go to her in person, and even though we heard that our beloved sons, Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede, and Peter, cardinal priest of the church of

⁶¹¹ Mt 21:41. Compare this phrasing with Reg. 8:134 (133) to Boniface of Montferrat (below) and Reg. 11:47, the pope's letter of 17 March 1208 to Theodore Lascaris, emperor-in-exile at Nicaea. Responding to Lascaris's now-lost letter that accused the crusaders of having committed horrible crimes at Constantinople, Innocent wrote:

We do not excuse the aforesaid Latins, whom we have often blamed for their excesses....Although granted they are not altogether innocent, we believe that through them, nevertheless, the Greeks, who labored to rend the seamless tunic of Christ, were punished by the just judgment of God...[and] the evil are punished by the agency of the evil.... Therefore, they rightly lost their land and people...so that with an evil people brought to an evil ruin, this land was hired out to those farmers who would return fruit at the proper season (PL 215:1373-1374).

⁶¹² Hos 14:2.

⁶¹³ Note 605.

⁶¹⁴ At this moment, Innocent intended to Latinize the Greek rite. He later would be forced to modify this policy in the face of Greek resistance, as canons 4 and 9 of IV Lateran bear witness: Andrea, "Pope Innocent III, 469-497. For a slightly different view of Innocent's intentions and policies, see Joseph Gill, "Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?" in Derek Baker, ed., *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), 95-108.

⁶¹⁵ Jo 21:15-18.

⁶¹⁶ First after Rome in the pentarchic system of things. See Reg. 7:203, especially note 546.

San Marcello, legates of the Apostolic See, have arrived from the regions of Jerusalem, nevertheless because they had held no particular mandate in this matter, we took steps to dispatch from our court to those parts our beloved son Benedict, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Susanna and legate of the Apostolic See,⁶¹⁷ a man who is both prudent and discrete, equally learned and honest, whom, among all of our other brothers, we embrace with arms of sincerity, so that he might, in accordance with the words of the prophet, more effectively and vigorously root out and destroy, build up and plant,⁶¹⁸ in accordance with whatever he sees is required in the course of his duties. Moreover, we wish that the sentence that he will canonically deliver against those who are rebellious be regarded as unalterable, and we order that it be inviolably honored.

Therefore, we quite attentively entreat, advise, and exhort Your Imperial Magnificence in the Lord that, courteously receiving and honoring him as though he were us in person and in whose person we reckon ourselves to be honored, you offer your assistance and favor to this very man, to whom we gave special instructions that he diligently and prudently direct his efforts to your honor and interests. In this manner, with the state of that Church reformed through his effort and by your indulgence, you might deserve to be made secure on your throne by Him, at whose right hand the Queen,⁶¹⁹ attired in many hues, stands in a gold-embroidered garment,⁶²⁰ and we, by reason of the honor shown him by Your Majesty, might be obligated to fruitful acts of gratitude.

Issued on the Ides of May.

Reg. 8:57 (56)

25 April 1205

With that same goal in mind, twenty days earlier the pope had written to all the Greek clergy in the empire, informing them of Cardinal Benedict's imminent arrival and instructing them to honor and

⁶¹⁷ Legate to Constantinople, 1205-1207: Maleczek, *Kardinalskolleg*, 134-136.

⁶¹⁸ Jer 1:10.

⁶¹⁹ The Church.

⁶²⁰ See Saint Augustine's commentary on Psalm 44 (45): *On the City of God*, 17.16.2.

assist him in all his actions. Should anyone resist, then whatever reasonable sentence the cardinal imposed on the rebel would be exacted and firm and must be strictly observed. Innocent was not about to let slip away this God-given opportunity to, as he saw it, bring the Greek Church back to full obedience to Rome, or so he thought.

To the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and all prelates of churches residing in the empire of Constantinople:
 Since the only begotten son of God, Jesus Christ, commissioned Saint Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to feed His sheep, so that they who did not accept him as shepherd would be deemed strangers to His sheep, we, albeit unworthy, who have undertaken in the case of Saint Peter to fill his office on Earth, are obligated to maintain general care of all churches. Therefore, because the Church of Constantinople deserves to hold the position of primacy among the other churches after the Apostolic See even though some time ago it turned away from obedience to it, now we are obligated to show it special solicitude with its return to obedience.

Due to the fact, therefore, that we wish to visit, so to speak, this special daughter, we have taken steps to dispatch to your parts our beloved son Benedict, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Susanna and legate of the Apostolic See, a man who is unfailingly prudent and discrete and, in equal degree, learned and moral—a man whom, among all our other brothers, we especially embrace with arms of genuine affection. He is, in place of us, to root out and destroy those things that he sees need rooting out; he is to raise up and set in place those things that he recognizes need establishing. Whatever sentence he takes reasonable measures to promulgate against opponents and rebels will be exacted and firm.

For this reason, we command and order all of you through this Apostolic letter, upon your receiving him courteously, just as it were us in person, and your treating with honor him in whose person we ourselves are deemed honored, to proffer your aid and good will to him in those matters that this cardinal will identify for setting right. Take care to receive his instructions and decisions faithfully and to observe them without infraction, and see to it that they are steadfastly observed by

your subordinates, with the knowledge that we will see to it, by the authority of God, that the sentence that this man reasonably promulgates against any opponents whatsoever in this matter is to be observed strictly.

Issued on the sixth day before the Kalends of May.

Reg. 8:58 (57)
Ca. 25 April 1205

Around the same time in which he dispatched his letter to the Greek clergy, the pope also wrote to Boniface of Montferrat, who had successfully insisted on receiving the kingdom of Thessalonica as his consolation prize, after Baldwin of Flanders had been elected emperor. Innocent acknowledged Boniface's letter (Reg. 8:59 [58]), accepted Boniface's submission of himself and his new possession to the papacy, and assured him that the Apostolic See intended to promote Boniface's interests and to honor him as a special son of the Church. Perhaps significantly, the pope did not in this letter acknowledge Boniface's new title of "lord of Thessalonica and Crete. Could it be that Innocent was holding out hope that Boniface would apply to the papacy for a crown that he would wear as a papal vassal?

To the nobleman, the marquis of Montferrat:

We have received with paternal benevolence the letter that Your Nobility sent us, and we have carefully noted the matters contained therein. Moreover, we rejoice in the Lord that, following in the footsteps of your predecessors,⁶²¹ as you intimated to us in your letter and as our beloved son, William Ariento,⁶²² your knight and envoy, fully recounted to us face to face, you continue steadfastly in devotion to the Apostolic See, and you surrender both your person and your land to our pleasure and mandates. We, therefore, following up on this devotion of yours with acts of thanks, entreat, instruct, and quite intently exhort Your Nobility to persevere with an unswerving spirit in this good intention and to love and honor

⁶²¹ *FC*², 27-30, provides an overview of the Montferrat family's involvement in Eastern affairs.

⁶²² William Ariento of Vercelli.

the Roman Church, your mother, since we happily intend to promote your interests and to honor you as a special son of the Church.

Issued *etc.*

Reg. 8:59 (58)

Registered ca. 25 April 1205

Boniface's submission to Rome, which seems to have been little more than a vague promise to serve the Church with his person and possessions, was probably inspired by the new lord of Thessalonica's realization that he was surrounded by enemies, the most dangerous of whom was Kalojan (r. 1197-1207), known as Ioannitsa, the king of the Vlacho-Bulgarian state, whom the papal legate Cardinal Leo of Santa Croce crowned in November 1204,⁶²³ just about the same time that Boniface was dispatching this letter to Rome. Boniface wanted all the papal support that he could get, especially against this other royal son of the Church, and his anxiety was not misplaced. Not only would Kalojan crush a Latin army at Adrianople and capture Emperor Baldwin, only days before this letter reached Rome,⁶²⁴ but Boniface himself would be killed in 1207 in a skirmish with Vlacho-Bulgarian troops.

To the Most Holy Father and Lord, Innocent, Supreme Pontiff by Divine Providence, his Boniface, marquis of Montferrat and lord, by the grace of God, of the kingdom of Thessalonica and Crete, offers, with an agreeable kiss on the feet, both devoted and ready obedience:

I believe it has been announced many times over to Your paternal ears how many deeds the compassion of divine graciousness has mightily effected on us and around us. Indeed, lest the truth of our affection for and sincere good will toward the Apostolic See, which we have had thus far, will have, and do have, be utterly concealed from Your Majesty, and inasmuch as the chain of events is better conveyed by the spoken word rather than in a letter, we have sent over our most beloved and faithful knight, William Ariento, as a mes-

⁶²³ Reg. 7:230: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:409-411.

⁶²⁴ The battle of Adrianople took place on 14 April 1205.

senger to Your Apostolic Holiness regarding the present state of affairs, and we ask that Your Sincerity deign to have unwavering faith in this man sent by us, knowing it to be certain and beyond doubt that I am prepared to exert myself with all my land in mandated Apostolic service and with all my might for the honor of Holy Mother Church.

Reg. 8:64 (63)

Ca. 25 April-25 May 1205

In his letter of late April or May of 1205 to all the crusaders at Constantinople, Innocent returned to a theme he had raised in Reg. 7:206 three or four months earlier: the army's delaying its journey to liberate Jerusalem for yet another year, in order to solidify its hold on the Latin empire of Constantinople. Because, as the pope argued, the miraculous transferal of this empire would lead to the liberation of Jerusalem (a theme that he had already raised in Reg. 7:153), he ordered the army to tarry in the empire for a year (presumably until the spring sailing season of 1206), except in the case of its presence being more needed in the Holy Land.

In his undated letter of 1204 that informed Innocent of the second capture of Constantinople, Emperor Baldwin had requested that the pope offer an indulgence to all Westerners who might go east to serve the newly captured empire,⁶²⁵ and in his reply of 7 November 1204 to the emperor, the pope had charged all the crusaders at Constantinople to assist Baldwin in securing the empire in hope of remission of their sins and the Apostolic indulgence offered them.⁶²⁶ Now half a year later, Innocent once again tied the crusade indulgence to temporary service in the empire of Constantinople. Although the crusaders were not relieved of their ultimate obligation to fight Muslims in Egypt and Syria-Palestine (or so the pope thought), the pope agreed that what might seem to be a pause in the progress of the Jerusalem expedition was actually a major step toward Jerusalem's delivery.

To all the clergy and people in the Christian army residing at Constantinople:

Had the Lord anticipated the prayers of suppliants and had

⁶²⁵ Reg. 7:152.

⁶²⁶ Reg. 7:153.

He transferred the empire of Constantinople to the Latins from the Greeks (as He transferred it in these times) before the overthrow of the Eastern land,⁶²⁷ perhaps Christendom would not today bewail the desolation of the province of Jerusalem. Since, therefore, the Lord has deemed it worthy to open the way to us for the recovery of this land through the miraculous transferal of this empire and to hold one⁶²⁸ is almost to recover the other,⁶²⁹ we instruct all of you and exhort you in the Lord and enjoin you for the remission of your sins that, in order to solidify this same empire in its devotion to the Apostolic See and to us and to keep it more firmly under Latin lordship toward this end, you are to tarry in the regions of Romania for the space of a year, giving beneficial advice and effective aid to our most beloved son in Christ, Baldwin, illustrious emperor of Constantinople, except if, perhaps, your presence is so much more needed in the Holy Land so that it becomes necessary for you to hasten to its care for a while. Issued.⁶³⁰

Reg. 8:127 (128)
12 July 1205

How quickly events and news can change one's perspective. By mid July 1205 the pope had lost most of his euphoria as events in the Holy Land and the Latin empire of Constantinople took a decided turn for the worse and as news of the Latin rapine of Constantinople reached Rome. In the Holy Land King Aimeric and his infant son had died, and even though the truce that Aimeric had concluded with his Ayyubid enemies prior to his death left the crusader states in a marginally better strategic position, Innocent feared that the Muslims would take advantage of this moment of perceived weakness to break the truce. What is more, there was open civil discord among the Christians. King Leo II of Cilician Armenia and Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli, were struggling over

⁶²⁷ The victories of Saladin in 1187.

⁶²⁸ Constantinople.

⁶²⁹ Jerusalem.

⁶³⁰ That is all that is written here: *datum*.

the principality of Antioch, with the Hospitallers supporting Leo and the Templars supporting Bohemond.⁶³¹ In the Latin empire of Constantinople matters were even more desperate. On 14 April 1205 a Vlach-Bulgarian army had crushed the crusaders at Adrianople. Emperor Baldwin was captured, his fate unknown, and a number of his highest ranking subordinates lay dead on the field, including Count Louis of Blois. To make matters worse, at least as far as the pope was concerned, Cardinal Peter Capuano had also dispensed from their crusade obligation all crusaders who stayed on in the Latin empire for an additional year. The crusade, in effect, was over. As all of this news was breaking upon the papal court, reports of the true events of 13-15 April 1204 were also reaching papal ears. The full horrors of the three-day sack of the city were probably beyond the descriptive abilities of any reporter, but Innocent heard enough tales of outrages committed by the crusaders to be horrified and disgusted.

The pope's letter of 12 July 1205 to Cardinal Peter Capuano is an interesting study in contrast with his letter of only five months earlier to this same legate (Reg. 7:223). The difference in tone and message cannot be missed. Gone are the tone of gentle rebuke and the message that all problems can be worked out in a reasonable manner. This letter was not intended to make Cardinal Peter feel good. The pope was angry and disgusted, and he did not try to mask his feelings. The chief reason for that anger seems to be reflected in a telling statement in which Innocent lamented, "By that from which we appeared to have profited up to now we are impoverished; and by that from which we believed we were, above all else, made the greater we are reduced.

To Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, legate of the Apostolic See:

Given an already long-standing rumor that you and our beloved son, Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede and legate of the Apostolic See, have abandoned the province of Jerusalem in a time of great necessity and are arriving by ship at Constantinople, we have been more than a little amazed and perturbed, fearing imminent danger to that

⁶³¹ Reg. 8:126 (127) of July 1205 to Philip II of France: PL 215:698.

same land. And behold! That which we trembled at has happened, and that which we feared has now taken place. For, beyond the fact that the Church of Jerusalem was left empty when the patriarch of Jerusalem of good memory went the way of all flesh at that point of time,⁶³² and beyond the fact that there was a certain rivalry among Christians resulting from a war centering on the principality of Antioch between our very beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of Armenia, and the count of Tripoli,⁶³³ thereafter, due to the unforeseen death of Aimeric, king of Jerusalem of glorious memory,⁶³⁴ and of his son,⁶³⁵ the kingdom of Jerusalem has been almost totally robbed of all government. And because both of you, who had been obligated to look for greater help there and to summon others, by example and word, to hasten to the aid of that same land, sailed from there to Greece on the authority of your own will, not only pilgrims but even natives of the land, following in your footsteps, have arrived at Constantinople; in like manner, our venerable brother, the archbishop of Tyre,⁶³⁶ has followed after the two of you. With your leaving, therefore, that land has remained destitute of men and military forces,⁶³⁷ and the things that have happened to it most recently on your account are worse than those that happened earlier, since all of its friends have abandoned it along with you, and there is no one from among all of its loved ones who can console it. Wherefore, its enemies appear to have been placed in a position of advantage, should they wish to break the peace treaty,⁶³⁸ which some even say expired with the

⁶³² Patriarch Aymar the Monk (r. 1194-1202). See note 588.

⁶³³ This struggle over the principality of Antioch between Leo II, king of Cilician Armenia (r. 1187-1219), and Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli and prince of Antioch (r. 1187-1233), is described by Mary Nickerson Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192-1243," Setton, *History of the Crusades*, 2:532-536. Ultimately, Bohemond won the contest.

⁶³⁴ Aimeric II of Lusignan (r. 1197-1205) died on 1 April 1205.

⁶³⁵ An infant. More crushing was the more-or-less contemporaneous death of Aimeric's coregent and wife, Isabel, who served as queen of Jerusalem from 1190, during the successive reigns of three husbands: Conrad of Montferrat, Henry II of Champagne, and Aimeric.

⁶³⁶ Archbishop Clarembald (r. 1202-1213). Conrad of Krosigk served as vicar while the archbishop was away; see the GeH.

⁶³⁷ *Viris et viribus*.

⁶³⁸ The truce that King Aimeric had concluded in late 1198 (note 40) was extended for another six years in September 1204, possibly as a consequence of the capture of

expiration of the king and his son. Consequently, we are more than a little shaken in our very being, and we are rightly moved to anger against both of you because you reached the decision to abandon, both at the same time, that land which the Lord made holy by His presence and in which Our King before the ages miraculously worked out the mystery of our Redemption in recent times. Although it is true that our venerable brother, the former bishop of Vercelli, was elected to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and we, approving his election,⁶³⁹ have already taken steps to have the *pallium* conferred on him, yet because of numerous involvements, perhaps he will not be able to cross the sea so quickly. Therefore, you ought to have been mindful of and given careful thought to the purpose of your legation because we undertook to dispatch you not to capture the empire of Constantinople but for the defense of the remnants of the Holy Land and for the restoration of what has been lost (if the Lord should grant it) and, when we and our brothers adequately provided for your expenses, we sent you not to seize temporal riches but to earn eternal riches.

Having, moreover, recently heard and learned from your letter that you dispensed from the vow of pilgrimage and from the duty of the Cross all crusaders who remain in the defense of Constantinople from the preceding March to the next,⁶⁴⁰ we were unable not to be irritated at you⁶⁴¹ since you⁶⁴² neither should nor could attempt such things in any way whatsoever, regardless of whoever might have advised you otherwise and by whatever means they might have seduced your mind. For inasmuch as they assumed the emblem of the Cross principally for this reason and they particularly vowed this to the Lord their God, namely that they would cross the sea in relief of the Holy Land, and inasmuch as having thereafter strayed

Constantinople. With the army of the Fourth Crusade not expected any time soon, it was in Aimeric's perceived best interest to negotiate an extension. Indeed, half of Sidon and all of Jaffa were returned to the Latins by virtue of this renegotiated treaty.

⁶³⁹ See note 588.

⁶⁴⁰ Probably this means from March 1204 to March 1205—the length of service stipulated in the March Pact: Reg. 7:205. It could, however, mean an additional year of service, from March 1205 to March 1206.

⁶⁴¹ Singular.

⁶⁴² Singular.

from the path onto an impassable road, they have pursued temporal wages right up to today, we leave it to your judgment as to whether it was permissible for you to so transform no, rather to pervert such a solemn and pious vow. For behold what we report with grief and shame: By that from which we appeared to have profited up to now we are impoverished, and by that from which we believed we were, above all else, made the greater we are reduced.

For how will the Greek Church, afflicted to some degree by persecutions, return to ecclesiastical unity and devotion to the Apostolic See, a church which has seen in the Latins nothing except an example of affliction and the works of Hell, so that now it rightly detests them more than dogs? For they, who were believed to be seeking things not for themselves but for Jesus Christ, showed no mercy for reasons of religion,⁶⁴³ age, or sex, staining with the blood of Christians swords that they should have used on pagans. They committed acts of lewdness,⁶⁴⁴ adultery, and fornication in the sight of all, and they exposed both matrons and virgins, even those dedicated to God, to the filth of the lowborn. It was not enough for them to empty the imperial treasuries and to plunder the spoils of princes and lesser folk, but rather they extended their hands to church treasuries and, what was more serious, to their possessions, even ripping away silver tablets from altars and breaking them into pieces among themselves, violating sacristies and crosses, and carrying away relics.⁶⁴⁵ Moreover, inasmuch as one cannot conceal what is taken for granted by so many thousands of people, will not the Saracens, who had been struck by an excessive fear when Constantinople was captured, have come to perceive from this that the crusaders will return to their homes after a year and that Divine Retribution, which now begins to scourge their iniquities, already rages upon them,⁶⁴⁶ and will they not recover their courage and will they not devour the lambs, which you both aban-

⁶⁴³ I.e. the victim's religious status.

⁶⁴⁴ *Incestus* is best not translated as "acts of incest" here.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. the *GeH* and the Anonymus of Soissons.

⁶⁴⁶ A reference to the disaster at Adrianople of 14 April 1205; See Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines.

done in the desert as though they were morsels for wolves, unless the right hand of God alone resists them? Also, how are we in the future to put a face on our summoning to the relief of the Holy Land and the defense of the empire of Constantinople the people of the West, on whom some perhaps will lay the charge, albeit not on account of their fault but because of your action, that dispensed crusaders return home, having abandoned their pilgrimage resolution, and they who had despoiled the aforesaid empire run away stuffed with spoils, having left that empire undefended? May the Word of God, therefore, not be fettered on your⁶⁴⁷ tongue, and may your bark not be as weak as that of a mute dog, but rather speak these things publicly and bear witness face-to-face before all, so that, however much they found you negligent up to now, they might find you ever so much more the rebuker for God and because of God.

Moreover, regarding the absolution of the doge and the Venetian people, which was wrongly essayed contrary to ecclesiastical form,⁶⁴⁸ we will not make a case against you for the present, since we have taken steps to make the case in another letter on this matter that has been specially dispatched to you.⁶⁴⁹ Also we have now decided to pass over those matters regarding the business of the patriarch of Antioch and the abbot of Saint Paul⁶⁵⁰ that you are reported to have acted upon,⁶⁵¹ lest we seem to amplify excessively single items.

⁶⁴⁷ Singular.

⁶⁴⁸ This seems to mean that the Venetians failed to offer any compensation to the king of Hungary. According to the *Gesta Innocentii III.*:

Then, at last, the doge and the Venetians who were in Greece sent messengers to Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello and legate of the Apostolic See, begging the favor of absolution. He dispatched to them, along with his letter, the treasurer of Nicosia in Cyprus, and upon receiving from them an oath according to the form prescribed by the Church, he ordered them absolved, even though up to then they had offered no satisfaction for what they had done. For he preferred them crippled rather than dead, especially so that their contagion would not infect others (Gress-Wright, 196; PL 214:cxli).

⁶⁴⁹ This letter is lost. Regardless of what case the pope brought against Cardinal Peter, Innocent never rescinded the absolution that the legate had given the Venetians.

⁶⁵⁰ The Benedictine abbey of Saint Paul in Antioch, whose abbot might have been Bernard at this time.

⁶⁵¹ Hageneder et al. theorize that this relates to the matter of filling the archdiaconate office of Antioch: see Reg. 10:168 (Pl 215:1278-1282).

As for the rest, since, in accord with the entreaties of the illustrious emperor of Constantinople, we have taken steps to impose the burden of the office of envoy to Greece on our beloved son, Benedict, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Susanna and legate of the Apostolic See, who has now set out for Apulia, and since the aforementioned cardinal of Santa Prassede, as we have heard, has begun the return journey, we command Your Discretion, strictly enjoining you through this Apostolic letter, to put aside every evasion, to disregard all other matters, and to return to the Holy Land, and there at least you will await the arrival of the aforementioned patriarch, in the meantime doing those things that are bound to be useful to the needs of this land.

Issued on the third day before the Ides of July.

Reg. 8:134 (133)

Ca. 15 August-15 September 1205

In his letter to Cardinal Peter, the pope recounted at some length the crimes committed by the crusaders in their sack of Constantinople—crimes that Innocent claimed caused the Greeks to see the Latins as nothing other than an affliction and to despise them more than dogs. Sometime in the late summer of 1205, in his reply to a now-lost letter from Boniface of Montferrat, Innocent returned to the theme of the crusaders' sins at Constantinople.

Innocent's reply provides a recapitulation of Boniface's letter. The marquis, consistent with his earlier attempts to remain in Innocent's good graces, pleaded that he had discharged his now-dispensed crusade vow with a proper sense of contrition and in a spirit that was faithful to the pope's prohibition regarding unjust and unnecessary attacks on Christians. His support of the diversion to Constantinople had been driven by necessity—the crusaders' lack of food—but was also done out of homage to the Apostolic See and in order to bring much-needed relief to the Holy Land. What is more, it was consonant with advice offered by the papal legate, Peter Capuano. Then, when the crusaders had apparently accomplished all their objectives without bloodshed, the Greeks wickedly blocked their voyage to the Holy Land and totally violated all their oaths. In this manner, the crusaders were forced to attack the city, even though they did not wish to do so. Following their miraculous

capture of the city, the crusaders prayed for and labored toward the Greek Church's return to obedience to Rome, and they now awaited the pope's guidance on the matter. Speaking for himself, Boniface acknowledged that he had taken up the Cross in order to wipe away the blemishes of his sins, and he claimed that in no way did he intend to use his vow and the crusader's banner as cover for even more serious sins, thereby refuting the general indictment that Innocent had made of crusader motives in February 1204, following news of the first capture of Constantinople.⁶⁵² For this reason, Boniface declared, he yielded in every way to the pope's guidance and commands and stood ready, if it would be beneficial to the papacy and the Holy Land and would guarantee remission of his sins, to accept the danger and pain of remaining in Romania for a while. Let no one be mindful of the riches and rewards that he won in Thessalonica, Boniface stated; he only desired to do that papally mandated service that would turn aside God's anger. Or so he claimed.

This spirited defense of the marquis's actions over the past two years and his equally zealous plea on behalf of his fellow crusaders warranted a careful response. In his introduction to a copy of this letter that he included in his history of the early years of Innocent's pontificate, the author of the *Gesta Innocentii III.* wrote that:

When, therefore, Lord Innocent noted that many illicit items were contained in these articles of agreement,⁶⁵³ especially those that related to the status of churches and clerics and that many crimes had been committed in the capture of Constantinople, even though the crusaders had been prohibited from violating Christian lands, except perhaps if their journey was wickedly impeded, and given that their excuse seemed inadequate, namely that they were permitted to attack the Greeks because they had removed themselves from obedience to the Apostolic See and had no desire to aid the Holy Land (and granted that they⁶⁵⁴ were reminded about both matters by the

⁶⁵² Regs. 6:229 (230) and 230 (231).

⁶⁵³ The March Pact.

⁶⁵⁴ Presumably the Greeks.

lord pope himself,⁶⁵⁵ and Emperor Alexius wrongly sat upon the imperial throne, which he had wickedly stolen from his brother), since they had received no power from above for rendering punishment in these matters, he began to waver quite seriously over the issue of what he must do in such an important matter. But after he held careful deliberations, not only with the cardinals but also even with the archbishops, bishops, and other prudent men from diverse regions who were then resident in large numbers at the Apostolic See, in accordance with the general advice he received, he wrote back in this manner to the nobleman, the marquis of Montferrat, who was consulting with the Apostolic See on this matter.⁶⁵⁶

To the author of the *Gesta*, Innocent's quoted reply that follows these words was unambiguous and no additional commentary was needed. And, indeed, it is rather clear. Fortified with the advice of his cardinals and other clerics, the pope let Boniface know that he thought the crusaders were more than just a little disingenuous when they claimed that their motives had been pure and unselfish, and also he did not stint when it came time to recount their sins in the sack of the city. At the same time, however, he conceded that the Greeks probably had lost their empire through the just judgment of God, given their own sins, which he implied were even graver than those of the crusaders. Although he was not prepared at the moment to try to plumb the mystery of God's Providence, Innocent was sure of one thing: He was not about to surrender this land back to the Greeks; indeed, he looked forward to additional land in Romania falling under Latin rule. Boniface was to hold and defend his territories and to rule them in peace and in conformity with the rules of religion, *and he was to acquire more land to be held, defended, and governed according to the rules of religion* (my emphasis). Understood, of course, was that they would be the rules of religion as defined by the Church of Rome. What was more, Boniface was to do penance for his sins, "inasmuch as he who touches pitch is tainted by it. Totally forgotten was the issue of excommunication. Innocent had already made his decision to forget that threat long ago,

⁶⁵⁵ E.g. Regs. 1:353 and 354 in *Register Innocenz III.*, 1:525-530, and Regs. 2:200 (209) and 202 (211), *ibid.*, 2:382-389 and 394-397.

⁶⁵⁶ Gress-Wright, 212-213; PL 214:cxli-cxlii.

but he was too much the priest to fail to call Boniface and his fellow crusaders to repentance for their obvious sins. Finally, Boniface was to vow again to exert himself to aid the Holy Land. The crusaders might have been dispensed from their crusade vows, but Innocent was determined, now that he had Constantinople, to press on to the liberation of Jerusalem. Little did he know then, or eleven years later as he lay dying in Perugia, that the Latin empire of Constantinople would be a great drain on those resources that the West might otherwise have devoted to recovery of the Holy Land.

To the nobleman, the marquis of Montferrat:

We commend your prudence and devotion in the Lord in that you are anxious and zealous regarding the salvation of your soul amidst not only manifold but pressing worldly concerns and engagements. For what does it profit a person if he gains the whole world but suffers the loss of his soul? Or what will a person give in exchange for his soul?⁶⁵⁷ The brother will not redeem [him nor] shall the man redeem [himself]. He shall not give to God his ransom or the price for the redemption of his soul; he will labor unto eternity, and he shall live to the End.⁶⁵⁸

For, indeed, we have received your letter, delivered to our Apostolate by our beloved son, Soffredo, cardinal priest of the church of Santa Prassede. In it you took pains to make it known to us that you solemnly discharged the vow of the Cross with a contrite heart and a spirit faithful to the command of the Apostolic admonition,⁶⁵⁹ induced by the hope of a general indulgence, and you always brought an uncorrupted soul to bear in carrying it out faithfully. However, because you

⁶⁵⁷ Mt 16:26.

⁶⁵⁸ This passage is an almost word-for-word quotation of several verses from the Vulgate version of Psalm 49 (48):8-10, which deals with the foolishness of those who trust in earthly riches. Readers of the Vulgate Bible probably understood this last, rather opaque sentence to mean that a person will labor in vain to save his soul through accumulated earthly riches, even if he lives and labors forever or, at least, to the End of Time.

The version of this letter that appears in the *Gesta Innocentii III.* in Gress-Wright, 213, reads, "Moreover, the man will not redeem [himself]...., totally leaving the brother out of the picture.

⁶⁵⁹ Not to attack Christians, save in certain exceptional circumstances: Regs. 5:160 (161) and 161 (162), as well as elsewhere.

supported escorting that adolescent,⁶⁶⁰ who professed that the empire of Constantinople ought to be his by right, our beloved son Peter, cardinal priest of the church of San Marcello, offered the advice (and it was not so much human advice as pressing necessity) that the army turn aside to procure foodstuffs in Romania⁶⁶¹ following the demolition of Zara. Indeed, you and the other crusaders made a virtue of necessity and aimed to see to it, first and foremost, that you⁶⁶² procured in that land pleasing homage to the Apostolic See and, no less, longed-for relief to the Holy Land. You thought you had abundantly accomplished this when, with the royal city captured without bloodshed, the person who had been sitting on the throne having died, and both father and son restored in this city to the heights of imperial dignity, you induced them, without compulsion, to promise obedience, with hands on the Gospels, to the most holy Apostolic See. An imperial letter was sent over to us as a more substantial pledge of faith, so that they might fulfill in works what they had promised in words.

When, however, you were prepared to sail to Syria with all of your troops, the innate evil of the Greeks wickedly blocked your way not just once but often with deceit, poison, and treachery, the oaths and pacts having been totally violated, and it dragged you unwillingly and not wishing their destruction to occupy the royal city. After it had been miraculously conquered by the power of God alone, whatever you then did, willingly or unwillingly, in whatever measure or situation, having been so instructed by your clergy, you always had it in your prayers that, by your agency, the sons of disobedience would return to an equally owed and devout obedience to their mother and that the Eastern Church would be united, so to speak, as the principal member to its head. And so that it might be done better and more fully, you, uncertain up to now, have longed for the guidance of the Apostolic See, without which one's labor and investment goes for naught, and to this point you

⁶⁶⁰ Alexius the Younger.

⁶⁶¹ Boniface seems to have justified the diversion to Constantinople by claiming that Peter Capuano gave the army advice that was consonant with 6:102.

⁶⁶² "You," which has been singular to this point, now becomes plural.

await it with continual yearning. Because, indeed, as you⁶⁶³ assert, you took up the emblem of the Cross in order to wipe away the blemishes of your youth and to remove whatever blot of rebellion human frailty had contracted in former times, and not so that you might sin more gravely and wantonly under the cover of religion and the banner of the Cross, referring each and every thing for our examination and evaluation, you yield to our guidance and orders in all matters and though all circumstances. Thus, if we perceive that the situation in Romania and your delay therein would effectively pro t the Apostolic See and the Promised Land, and through this means you would receive remission of your sins, you will not refuse the dangers or the pains. Moreover, devoid of regard for the possessions and honors that you copiously acquire, we should enjoin on you rather that action through which you might more fully deserve to turn aside the anger of the Supreme Judge.

Indeed, in those points described above you seem to have answered the silent reproaches that thus can be hurled against the crusaders: For although you⁶⁶⁴ vowed, in obedience to the Crucified One, to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the pagans and although you were forbidden under threat of excommunication to attempt to invade or violate the lands of Christians, unless, perchance, either they should wickedly impede your journey or another just and necessary cause should present itself to you that would allow you to act otherwise in accordance with the guidance offered by our legate, all of you, having no jurisdiction or power over the Greeks, appear to have rashly turned away from the purity of your vow when you took up arms not against Saracens but Christians, not aiming to recover Jerusalem but to occupy Constantinople, preferring earthly wealth to celestial treasures. And, more seriously, it is reputed far and wide that some showed no mercy for reasons of religion, age, or sex but committed acts of fornication, adultery, and lewdness in the sight of all, and they exposed not only married women and widows but even matrons and virgins dedicated to God to the lth of the lowborn. It was

⁶⁶³ At this point "you" reverts to the singular.

⁶⁶⁴ Here "you" becomes plural again.

not enough to empty the imperial treasuries and to plunder alike the spoils of princes and lesser folk, but rather you extended your hands to church treasuries and, what was more serious, to their possessions, ripping away silver tablets from altars and violating sacristies, carrying away crosses, icons, and relics. The result is that the Greek Church, afflicted to some degree by persecutions, disdains returning to obedience to the Apostolic See. It has seen in the Latins nothing other than an example of affliction and the works of Hell, so that now it rightly detests them more than dogs.

You,⁶⁶⁵ indeed, in defense of unwarranted (or, rather, usurped) jurisdiction⁶⁶⁶ and authority, have cited the advice of a legate of the Apostolic See, as if by it you⁶⁶⁷ were granted permission to travel with the aforementioned young man in order to return the empire of Constantinople to him, and you even have alleged that, inasmuch as you were driven by a lack of food, without which you were unable to complete the vow of the Cross, it was legitimate for you, by reason of such great necessity, to hire your services to him who seemed to be pursuing a just cause, especially since by this act you would finally attend to the relief of the Holy Land and the profit of the Apostolic See. However, they refused the wage promised and owed you, the oaths and pacts having been totally violated; yes, they even attacked you often with weapons, fire, deceit, and poison. Placed in a difficult position, you were, so to speak, drawn along to the point that you executed due revenge on schismatics and perjurers who unjustly refused what they owed you. For it appears to have been divine judgment that they, who for so long have been mercifully tolerated and so often had been zealously admonished, not only by others but even by us, and who did not wish to return to the unity of the Church, and who did not want to impart any aid to the Holy Land, lost their place and people through the agency of those who equally sought both [objectives], so that, with an evil people brought to an evil ruin, good land is leased out to good farmers, who might produce fruit in the proper season.

⁶⁶⁵ “You” now becomes singular again.

⁶⁶⁶ Gress-Wright, 216, and PL 215: 712, have *justitiam* (justice).

⁶⁶⁷ “You” is now plural.

Just so, one reads in the Prophet Daniel: "It is God in Heaven who reveals mysteries, and changes the times, and transfers kingdoms. He has dominion in the kingdom of men, and he will give it to whom He wishes."⁶⁶⁸ Indeed, the common saying is that the legal powers of kingdoms have always been tempestuous. Because, in fact, the judgments of God have to this point been sometimes hidden, so that they are called by the prophet "a great abyss,"⁶⁶⁹ and so that the Apostle is forced to exclaim: "Oh, the depth of the riches of God's wisdom and knowledge! How incomprehensible are His judgments and beyond understanding His ways! For who has known the mind of the Lord or who has been His counselor?"⁶⁷⁰

We do not wish to judge rashly regarding such a profound judgment, especially before we are more fully informed regarding the truth of the matter, since they were not to be justly punished because of the sin that they committed against God, and since, no less, they were able to punish you unjustly because of the hatred that you engendered amongst neighbors (if, to be sure, they who disdained being neighbors could be called neighbors), and since, on account of their just punishment, perhaps God gave you just wages, in accordance with what one reads in the prophet's words, "Because you served me in Tyre, I will give you Egypt,"⁶⁷¹ whereby He calls Assyria the rod of His wrath.⁶⁷² Putting aside unresolved issues, we have taken care to give you⁶⁷³ an unambiguous response on this matter, having a healthy consideration equally at one and the same time for the Holy Land as well as for the Apostolic See, as well as for your soul: In fear of the Lord and with the hope of pardon from divine judgment, you are to hold and defend the land that has been acquired and acquire land to be held and defended, ruling in justice the people subject to you,

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. Dn 2:21 and 28.

⁶⁶⁹ Ps 36 (35):7.

⁶⁷⁰ Rom 11:33-34.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Ez 29:18-20.

⁶⁷² Is. 10:5. Here Innocent or his secretary confuses the earlier Assyrian empire that First Isaiah had referred to with the Babylonian empire of Nebuchadnezzar, to which Ezechiel refers.

⁶⁷³ "You" now becomes singular again.

preserving it in peace and conforming in matters of religion, so that you return ecclesiastical goods to their proper use, doing penance and offering amends for what has been committed, since an act of this sort could scarcely have been performed without guilt that requires expiation, inasmuch as he who touches pitch is tainted by it; and you make a firm resolution by oath to exert yourself wisely and effectively in relief of the Holy Land, to which you have dedicated yourself principally and in a special way, since it is hoped that through this land that land can be easily recovered. If, following the example of your forefathers and brothers, who endeavored, with purity of heart, a good conscience, and a faith that was not feigned, to revere always and to venerate in all ways the most holy Roman Church,⁶⁷⁴ you prove faithful and devoted to us and the Apostolic See in these matters, out of the fullness of our favor we will render you totally secure, and you will know for certain that we desire to bring about those things that should generously redound to your honor and profit, as often as the opportunity presents itself to us.

Issued.

⁶⁷⁴ *FC*², 27-28, surveys the exploits in the Holy Land of Boniface's father, William the Old, and two of Boniface's older brothers, William and Conrad.

2. COUNT HUGH OF SAINT POL'S REPORT TO THE WEST

Hugh IV, count of Saint Pol in Picardy (r. 1174-1205), was a veteran of the Third Crusade, on which he distinguished himself at the siege of Acre, and he was also a direct vassal of the king of France. The former distinction brought Count Hugh great moral authority; the latter made him one of the kingdom's highest ranking nobles. Among the Frankish leaders of the Fourth Crusade who traveled eastward with the Venetians, he ranked fourth, preceded only by Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, Count Baldwin IX of Flanders (with whom Count Hugh was connected by marriage alliance), and Count Louis of Blois. From the time of his second swearing of the Cross in early 1200¹ to his death at Constantinople in March 1205,² Hugh of Saint Pol was a major player in all of the decisions and actions of the crusade leadership.³

Sometime shortly after the first capture of Constantinople on 18 July 1203, Count Hugh sent several versions of essentially the same letter to friends in the West, in which he recounted the recent turn of events in Byzantium. Three versions of that letter have been discovered and edited, and it seems likely that Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall saw and used a fourth version, which has yet to be found.

The best known and most widely circulated version of this letter was addressed to Henry I, duke of Brabant and count of Louvain (r. 1190-1235), a distinguished leader of the German Crusade of 1197-1198. The letter found its way into the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (The Royal Chronicle of Cologne), also known as the *Annales maximi Colonienses* (The Great Annals of Cologne),⁴ thereby assuring its dissemination and preservation. All modern editions of the letter to Duke Henry trace themselves back to this chronicle insertion.⁵ In

¹ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:12, sec. 9.

² *Ibid.*, 2:144, sec. 334.

³ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 195-197, provides a fuller biography.

⁴ MGH, *Script. rer. Germ.*, 18:203-208; MGH, *SS*, 17:812-814.

⁵ Rudolf Pokorny, "Zwei unedierte Briefe aus der Frühzeit des lateinischen

the early eighteenth century, the Maurist scholars Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand edited an anonymous letter to an unknown recipient regarding the crusaders' initial capture of Constantinople. Knowing nothing else about the letter, they entitled it "The Letter of an Anonymous Eyewitness Regarding the Capture of the City of Constantinople."⁶ The letter is manifestly a version of Count Hugh's letter, but it differs in significant ways from the letter to Duke Henry and clearly was sent to someone else. This anonymous version contains a number of obvious errors, and because the manuscript from which Martène-Durand copied it is now lost, we have no way of determining who is to blame—a medieval scribe or two eighteenth-century editors. A third version of the letter was sent to Count Hugh's vassal and steward R. de Balues, whom Rudolf Pokorny has suggested was possibly Robin of Bailleul.⁷ While variously sharing elements unique to one or the other versions of Hugh's letter, it stands alone as the best and fullest of the three.⁸ Additionally, a careful reading of that portion of Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* entitled "How the City of Constantinople Was Captured by the Latins" reveals his profound reliance on Hugh's letter as his chief source for the first capture of the city.⁹ Indeed, in a later portion of his account of events at Constantinople, Abbot Ralph commends Hugh's letter to those of his readers who wish to know more about the crusade.¹⁰ Although Ralph's account seems to follow most closely the anonymous letter edited by Martène-Durand (except for the amount of silver marks that Alexius the Younger promised the doge and the army), the abbot's list of crusade leaders differs enough from the different lists of leading crusaders in favor of the diversion to Constantinople that appear in the three known versions of the letter to lead one to suspect that Ralph had another, now-lost version of Hugh's letter before him as he composed his chronicle.

The letter to R. de Balues contains warm, personal details, which

Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel, *Byzantion* 55 (1985): 197.

⁶ Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (1717), 1:784-788.

⁷ Pokorny, "Zwei Briefe," 193, note 55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 203-209.

⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Rer. Brit. M. A. script.*, 66:142-143.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 151.

suggest that this particular letter was intended primarily for the eyes of one man (even though he or someone else saw fit to insure its copying and preservation). Yet, as we have seen, at least two or three other versions of essentially the same letter were sent to the West, one of which found its way into a major Rhineland chronicle and another of which was read by an English Cistercian monk, who assumed that at least some of his readers would also have access to copies of the same letter. All of this points to an inescapable conclusion: Very much like the collective barons' three (or more) letters to the West of August 1203,¹¹ Hugh's letters were aimed at marshaling approval in the West for the crusaders' actions at Constantinople and allaying any fears that the crusade was going to end on the shores of the Bosphorus. The concluding words to his letter to Duke Henry, which appears to have had the widest circulation, reveal a third purpose: To rally new volunteers in the West to join the crusade ranks, which had been thinned by death and desertion — an appeal that we also saw in two versions of the letter of the four Frankish leaders of August 1203. Indeed, given the striking parallels between several of the concluding sentences of the nobles' letters to King Otto IV and to all the Christian faithful, on the one hand, and the two versions of Hugh's letter sent respectively to R. de Balues and an anonymous recipient, on the other, it is clear that Hugh borrowed from these baronial letters to the West.¹² This further suggests that the three other Frankish leaders might have vetted Hugh's letters before they were sent westward.

As noted, of the three extant versions of the letter, the best and fullest is the letter to R. de Balues, which Rudolf Pokorny discovered and edited less than two decades ago.¹³ The letter contains an introduction that puts a very human face on the crusade and its problems, namely the putative immaturity and inexperience of the other French counts, the severe deprivations that the army suffered

¹¹ See the commentary on Reg. 6:210 (211).

¹² Because the letter to Duke Henry, which seems to be earlier than the other two versions (see notes 15 and 16 below), does not contain these parallels, it is reasonable to conclude that Hugh borrowed from the letter of the crusade princes rather than vice versa.

¹³ Pokorny, "Zwei Briefe, 1193-1195, notes that he discovered the lost second half of the letter; Charles Kohler had edited the first half of the letter almost a century earlier: "Documents inédits concernant l'Orient latin et les croisades (XII^e-XIV^e siècle), *Revue de l'Orient latin* 7 (1899): 9-14; *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient latin et les croisades*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900), 1:249-254.

before the walls of Constantinople to the point that Count Hugh had to bargain away his surcoat for bread, and the crushing debts that awaited him at home because of his involvement in the crusade. It also contains two paragraphs toward the end that do not appear in the letter to Duke Henry, although they do appear in somewhat different form in the Martène-Durand letter. One paragraph names and excoriates the leaders of the recusant faction that abandoned the army after the affair at Zara. The other mentions Alexius IV's promise to accompany the army to its crusade destination the following March and, moreover, to reinforce it with ten thousand soldiers, as well as provisioning the entire force for an additional year and paying for the services of the Venetian fleet for that added year. It also mentions, in largely the same words, the threatening message that Alexius IV and the crusade leaders sent to the sultan of Egypt, a message that the nobles also mentioned in their letters to King Otto IV and all the Christian faithful.¹⁴

Pokorny concludes that the reason the letter to Duke Henry does not contain any mention of these imperial promises is that it was composed and dispatched earlier, before the contract between Alexius and the crusaders had been ironed out.¹⁵ This is an eminently reasonable inference. Given that several of the closing sentences of the letter to R. de Balues, as well as the letter edited by Martène-Durand, contain verbiage that we find in the August letters of the barons to King Otto IV and all the Christian faithful, it is further reasonable to infer that these two versions were composed toward the end of August or even a bit later.¹⁶ This means that the letter to Duke Henry was the first letter of propaganda sent to the West by one of the crusade leaders following the events of 18 July 1203. It might have been written as early as late July.

All three versions of Hugh's letter provide us with valuable and sometimes unique information—information often presented in a matter-of-fact fashion.¹⁷ Hugh lists by name the majority of that

¹⁴ See the appendix to Reg. 6:210 (211).

¹⁵ Pokorny, "Zwei Briefe," 196.

¹⁶ Pokorny, *ibid.*, 203, dates the letter to R. de Balues to the end of July or early August; Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, 2:534, 538 and 542, dates all three letters by the baronial leaders to the West to early August. Around 25 August seems a more reasonable date: see note 312 accompanying Reg. 6:210 (211) above.

¹⁷ Much of this paragraph comes from insights developed by Adam J. Gurien, "The Fourth Crusade Through the Eyes of Hugh, Count of Saint Pol: Translation and

handful of crusaders who supported Alexius the Younger's proposal to accompany him to Constantinople, although the lists vary in each version of the letter. Yet, save for the conflicting statements that there were "not more than ten" (the letter to R. de Balues) and "few more than twenty" (the letter to Duke Henry), a contradiction that probably was due to scribal error, those lists do not contradict one another. He alone informs us that the crusade leaders who supported Alexius the Younger were forced to swear that the army would tarry only one month in Constantinople, as long as the rank and file so willed it. His description of the taking of the tower of Galata is the most detailed of any eyewitness. He alone lists the ethnic identities of the mercenaries who defended the tower, and he describes the tactics that the crusaders had decided on for taking the tower before this plan was rendered moot by the garrison's suicidal assault against the besiegers. In two of the versions of his letter, he also informs us that some Frankish warriors joined the Venetians in the sea-borne assault on Constantinople's harbor walls, whereas Villehardouin seems to imply that no French participated in that part of the two-pronged attack on the city.¹⁸ As a veteran of the Third Crusade, Hugh had learned well the lesson that land forces should not separate themselves from supporting naval forces. Therefore, he alone explains why the army chose to use a narrow bridge along the shore to cross a deep stream, rather than taking a nine-mile detour away from the fleet, even though, presumably, the other location would have allowed the crusaders to ford the river along a broader front. Had that narrow bridge been staunchly defended, taking it would have been costly but probably not as hazardous as being separated from the Venetian ships.

As a seasoned warrior and military leader, Hugh had an eye for tactical details. Consequently, it is perplexing to note some disparities between his testimony and that of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari regarding operations in the field. Hugh notes that on its march along the shore, the army crossed the aforementioned narrow stone bridge unopposed. Yet, as the notes to the text indicate, Clari states that the stone bridge that the crusaders crossed

Analysis of His Letter to a Fellow Warrior in 1203, (B.A. Honors Thesis: The University of Vermont, 1987), 22-28.

¹⁸ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:162, sec. 162.

was initially defended by the Greeks, although he seems to imply their defense was largely token. Villehardouin mentions no resistance, but he does note that the Greeks had rendered the bridge impassable, and it took all day and all night to repair it.

What is more, Saint Pol's description of his place and role in the battles of 17 July 1203 differs substantially from the reports of Villehardouin and Clari. Villehardouin reports that Count Hugh led one of the four battalions that unsuccessfully assaulted Constantinople's walls,¹⁹ and later in the day his was one of six divisions that faced down Alexius III's troops who had sallied out from the city to threaten the Frankish camp.²⁰ Clari overlooks the morning assault, except to note in a throw-away line that the pilgrims would attack by land on the morrow,²¹ and deals in detail only with Alexius's sally. According to him, the count of Saint Pol led one of three battalions that went forward to meet the emperor's forces, with Baldwin of Flanders and his brother Henry commanding the other two advancing battalions. As Clari further reports, Saint Pol gallantly but somewhat foolhardily raced ahead, once he saw Baldwin of Flanders, who had been given the honor of leading the vanguard, fall back out of concern that he and his men would be easily cut off. When messengers from the count of Flanders were unable to convince Saint Pol not to advance so far and so fast, Baldwin raced back to the front, lest he continue to be shamed by Saint Pol's actions and thought a coward. When both armies came to within a crossbow bolt's sight of one another, they halted, each wary of the other. Finally, Alexius's forces retired, and the French crusaders held the field. While all of this was taking place, the camp was guarded by the remaining four battalions, all under the command of Marquis Boniface.²²

Count Hugh's account states that Boniface of Montferrat was one of three (not four) leaders of the assault on the land walls, whereas Villehardouin places the marquis in charge of one of the battalions guarding the side of the camp facing the plains during the morning assault.²³ Moreover, Hugh claims that while the as-

¹⁹ Ibid., 1:172-174, secs. 170-171.

²⁰ Ibid., 1:178-184, secs. 177-181.

²¹ Clari, *Conquête*, 45, sec. XLIV, *li pelerin d'autre part, qui assalloient par tere.*

²² Ibid., 45-51, secs. XLIV-XLVIII.

²³ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 172, sec. 170.

sault was taking place, he was helping to guard the army's flank. Nowhere does he mention that this attack on the walls was beaten back; indeed, he seems to imply that it occasioned an immediate counterattack by the emperor because it was succeeding. Hugh then provides an edifying tale of how his and Count Baldwin's forces moved forward in a coordinated fashion, continually providing support for one another. When the emperor's troops saw their steadfastness and discipline, they retreated. This surely is not the story of machismo running wild that Clari tells.

Reconciling these different accounts is not too difficult. The different descriptions of the army's crossing the stone bridge can be ascribed to different perspectives of the same event. Indeed, the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniatas provides some key evidence when he notes that the Greeks put up "slight resistance" at the bridge,²⁴ thereby supporting both Clari's direct testimony and the apparent implication within it. If the defense was token, as the two sources indicate, then probably in Count Hugh's eyes Greek resistance was so light as to have been negligible and not worthy of acknowledgement. A seasoned warrior such as Hugh realized what havoc a determined enemy could wreak on an army attempting to cross such a narrow point. Any enemy that failed to take advantage of this situation was unworthy of mention. Moreover, if the bridge had already been severely damaged before the army arrived, which seems probable, any Greeks who put up a show of resistance more than likely did not make a stand on or before the bridge but contented themselves with ineffective bow shots across the water. As for spending upwards of a full day and night repairing the bridge, why should Hugh mention it? He was a soldier not an engineer.

As to different stories told about the events of 17 July, here we have to try to understand the roles that memory and chivalric values played in the retelling. First, memory. Geoffrey of Villehardouin narrated his story several years after the fact; Hugh's letter is almost immediate to the events, and on that account alone should be preferred. Absent any conflicting evidence from 1203, we must accept his testimony that only three battalions attacked the walls, and they were led by the marquis, the count of Flanders, and Count Louis, the crusade's three highest ranking nobles. We will

²⁴ See note 124 below.

never know whether or not Hugh had been initially chosen to lead one of the three assault battalions, but what is clear is the marquis of Montferrat outranked him. It is not inconceivable that Boniface claimed for himself and was given the honor of leading an assault element, regardless of whether or not Hugh originally had been chosen for that command. Hugh was relegated to perimeter defense, and Villehardouin forgot that detail, even though he also was stationed in a defensive position. He remembered correctly that Marquis Boniface commanded the camp guard during the afternoon counterattack and simply assigned him the same role for the morning. On Hugh's part, there is no conceivable reason why he should want to cover up the fact that he had been honored with command of an assault force, even if the attack had failed. What makes this all the more probable is the fact that Robert of Clari, who provides vivid descriptions of the combat he engaged in, tells no tales about the morning assault. Inasmuch as Clari was in the retinue of Peter of Amiens, who was the nephew and companion of Hugh of Saint Pol, the reason Clari is silent about the assault on the walls is clear. He was helping to guard the army's perimeter while that fighting took place. As to the differences between Hugh's and Clari's accounts of the confrontation with Alexius III's forces in the field, the key lies in Hugh's chivalric courtesy. He knew Baldwin was no coward, and he would never say or write anything that reflected badly on a brave comrade-in-arms, especially one who probably saw Hugh's original letter before it was sent to the West. What is more, this is a letter written by a proud warrior who was imbued with notions of martial prowess. As such, we should expect a certain amount of boasting, especially when it came to describing his professional handling of troops in combat, and so he emphasized and probably exaggerated the manner in which he and Baldwin coordinated their advance. That same warrior would also be reluctant to admit any setbacks, no matter how temporary. Thus, he concentrated on the positive aspects of the morning's assault, which he knew about only from the reports of his comrades, and overlooked the negative.

The value of Count Hugh's letter only begins with the unique military and personal details it provides. Its main value lies in the fact that it offers no solace to those historians who cling to the notion that the crusade leaders had long plotted the capture of Constantinople and its empire and used the claims of the young Greek

prince as a subterfuge. First, consider the prologue addressed to his vassal R. de Balues. Here Hugh confesses that, even though he is now wealthy (due undoubtedly to the payments promised by Alexius IV), he still expects to return home laden with debt. Moreover, he also reminds R. that he joined this crusade because of the martial piety of these young leaders, who were prepared to die for God. Then Hugh defends his espousal of the cause of Alexius the Younger by noting that without money and sufficient provisions, the journey to Jerusalem would be fruitless and destructive. When the army reached Constantinople, according to Hugh, the crusaders were stunned that none of Alexius's friends or kinsmen came out to inform him of the situation in the city. As other sources also bear witness,²⁵ the crusade leaders expected Alexius to be welcomed with open arms. Now that Alexius and Isaac have been restored, Hugh proudly trumpets the benefits that will befall Christendom: namely, the Greek Church's ecclesiastical submission to Rome and Alexius's subvention of and participation in the crusade. With news of their success at Constantinople preceding the army, brethren in the Holy Land can now await them with greater hope. Finally, although the army has decided to winter over in Constantinople, Hugh informs Duke Henry, and all others who might read the letter sent to his friend, that it plans to campaign the following year at Alexandria, and Hugh invites others in the West to join it in that "tournament." Unless he was being totally disingenuous and cynical to an extreme degree, these are not the words and thoughts of a conspirator who set out on crusade with the purpose of overthrowing the Byzantine empire and carving out for himself a principality within its dismembered body. They are, however, the words and sentiments of a man who was embarked on his second crusade, determined to achieve, despite the personal cost, what his initial crusade had failed to gain: the liberation of Jerusalem.

As noted above, of the three extant versions, the letter to Henry of Louvain was probably composed and dispatched first possibly as much as a month earlier. Regardless, the letter sent to R. de Balues is the one chosen for translation here because of its fullness and disarming frankness. At the same time, wherever the other two letters contain substantial additional material, that material has

²⁵ E.g. the barons' letters to the West of August 1203. See Reg. 6:210 (211).

been included in brackets and highlighted in bold. Important or interesting variations in wording between the letter to R. and the other two letters are indicated in the notes. Many minor stylistic variations, however, are not indicated. Unless otherwise stated, all references to the letter to Duke Henry are to the 1880 edition of the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* by G. Waitz²⁶ and indicated by the abbreviation *DHL*. Significant differences between this edition of the letter to Henry of Louvain and three earlier, less definitive editions are noted as warranted.²⁷ All references to the letter edited by Martène and Durand are indicated by the abbreviation M/D.

The Letter of Hugh of Saint Pol to R. of Balues

Hugh, count of Saint Pol, to his very dear friend and vassal, R. of Balues, greetings and sincere affection:²⁸

To you (regarding whom I commend myself quite copiously)²⁹ I offer great thanks for the diligent care that you have expended on my lands. You should know that, after I quit my lands, I had nothing from any source, except what I was able to acquire and win. Indeed, on the night preceding the day on which the city surrendered itself to us, I had fallen into such poverty that it was necessary for me to exchange my surcoat for bread, although I kept my horses and weapons. Yet, now I am safe, sound, and wealthy, and greatly honored by all. Notwithstanding, I am quite anxious about my lands and my loans³⁰ because, if I return (God willing), I will return burdened with many debts, and it is in my interest that they

²⁶ MGH Script. rer. Germ., 18:203-208.

²⁷ Hugo comes Sancti-Pauli, "De expugnata per Latinos urbe Constantinopoli, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, 24 vols., (Paris, 1738-1904), 18:517-519 (hereafter *RHGF*); "Hugonis, comitis Sancti Pauli, epistola de expugnata per Latinos urbe Constantinopoli, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, eds. G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856-1857), 1:304-311 (hereafter T/T); *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. K. Pertz, MGH SS, 17: 812-814 (hereafter Pertz).

²⁸ *DHL* is addressed: "To his very dear friend Henry, duke of Louvain, a man of nobility, from Hugh, count of Saint Pol.

²⁹ For having such a fine vassal.

³⁰ On 18 December 1201, Hugh had received permission from King John to mortgage his English lands. Lands granted him by Richard I in order to help finance his crusade: Beatrice N. Siedschlag, "English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220, (Ph.D. diss: Bryn Mawr, 1939), 95 and 133.

be paid off from my lands. Anyway, I doubt that it has slipped your tenacious memory what you said to me while we were riding along on horseback: namely, you were exceedingly upset because I had undertaken the pilgrimage journey with such men who were young in age and maturity and did not know how to render advice in such an arduous affair.³¹ In return, I replied to you that because of what I might accomplish, I [willingly]³² enter their company and embrace them because, unless they manage to avoid it through deeds of heroism, they would submit to the loss of their heads in the service of God. Moreover, all that I promised you in our conversation as you shall hear in what follows I accomplished in action.

You should know³³ that Alexius, the son of Kirisac,³⁴ came to us at Corfu,³⁵ and there, on bended knees before us³⁶ and drenched in tears,³⁷ he humbly entreated us to go with him to Constantinople and aid him so that **[he might, with our help, expel from royal power]**³⁸ his father's brother, whom his father freed from heathen captivity.³⁹ This man, liberated and redeemed by his brother, repaid him this great debt: To wit, due to imperial ambition, he drove his aforesaid brother, Kirisac, from the imperial

³¹ Whereas Count Hugh was a grizzled crusade veteran, many of the other counts and barons were young. Baldwin of Flanders was twenty-eight, for example, and Louis of Blois was also in his twenties.

³² The text is corrupt here, but this seems to be the sense of the phrase.

³³ *DHL* begins: "I desire to declare to Your Nobility the state of the very poor army of Jesus Christ. Therefore, Your Serenity should know..."

³⁴ *Filius Kirisaci*: Emperor Isaac II, called Kirisac by the crusaders, who mutilated the Greek title *Kyrios* (Lord) and elided it with a truncated version of "Isaac. *DHL* refers to him as *lius Tirsaci* (but T/T reads it as *lius Kir-Saci*); M/D calls Alexius the Younger *Alexis Barisiaci*. *DHL* adds "the former emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother blinded out of imperial ambition.

³⁵ M/D adds "as I concluded to you with uncertainty on another occasion. Apparently Hugh had sent this recipient a now-lost letter while enroute from Zara to Corfu, in which he expressed his fears and uncertainties regarding the rank and the upcoming reception of Prince Alexius on Corfu.

³⁶ *DHL* lacks *coram nobis* (before us), but it is in M/D (see note 40).

³⁷ *Perfusus lacrimis*; *DHL*: *profusus lacrimis* (with profuse tears).

³⁸ In *DHL* but missing here by reason of a corrupt text.

³⁹ Alexius was imprisoned in 1186 by the Latin count of Tripoli, not by heathens, by which Hugh means Muslims. Isaac successfully sought Saladin's help in effecting Alexius's release from this captivity: Charles M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 167-170. *DHL* does not contain this information regarding Alexius III's captivity and release, but it does appear in M/D (note 40) and in Ralph of Coggeshall (as well as in Alberic of Trois Fontaines *Chronicle*).

throne and, driven by avarice, usurped and unjustly held that same throne.⁴⁰

A good deal of disagreement was engendered in our army, and there was an enormous uproar and grumbling.⁴¹ For everyone was shouting that we should make haste for Acre, and there were not more than ten⁴² who spoke in favor of the journey to Constantinople. One of these was the count of Flanders, [and then there were] I, Matthew of Montmorency,⁴³ the marshal of Champagne,⁴⁴ Conon of Béthune,⁴⁵ Miles of Brébant,⁴⁶ John Foison,⁴⁷ Renier of Trith,⁴⁸ Macaire of Sainte-Menehould,⁴⁹ Manasses of L Isle,⁵⁰ and Anselm of Cayeux.⁵¹ We all⁵² clearly

⁴⁰ M/D: "He humbly entreated us face-to-face (*coram nobis*) to go with him to Constantinople so that he might, with our help, drive from the imperial throne (which, driven by avarice, he had usurped and unjustly held) his father's brother, whom his father freed from heathen captivity. This man liberated and redeemed by his brother, repaid him this great debt: To wit, due to imperial ambition, he wickedly blinded his brother. DHL: "He entreated all of us to go with him to Constantinople and aid him, so that with our help he might drive from royal power (which, by reason of ambition, he had usurped for himself and unjustly held) his own uncle, who had committed a great crime against his father.

⁴¹ DHL: "Regarding this matter, however, there was a tremendous amount of disagreement among us and an enormous uproar. M/D: "Regarding this matter, a tremendous amount of disagreement arose in the army and an uproar.

⁴² DHL: "There were few more than twenty. M/D: "There were few. Note that Hugh actually lists eleven people. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:98-100, sec. 99, states that when this issue was debated at Zara, only twelve Franks took the oath to support the covenant with Prince Alexius. For more on the supporters of Alexius the Younger, see note 51.

⁴³ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 116-118.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin: *ibid.*, 26-32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 146-149.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 48-56.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 63-65.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 150-152.

⁴⁹ A knight of Champagne and one of the heroes of the crusade: *ibid.*, 45-48.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 42-45.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 200-201.

DHL: "Among these were the marquis [Boniface of Montferrat], the count of Flanders, Count Louis [of Blois], and others, whose names are kept silent at present. M/D: "Of these, one was the count of Flanders, Louis [of Blois], the marquis of Montferrat, Count Matthew of Montmorency, the marshal of Champagne (Geoffrey of Villehardouin), Conon of Béthune, M[iles] of Brébant, John Foison, John of Fraise, Peter of Bracieux, Anselm of Cayeux, R[enier] of Trith, Macaire of Sainte-Menehould, M[anasses] of L Isle, the bishop of Halberstadt (Conrad), the bishop of Troyes (Garnier), [and] John Faicete. Cf. these lists with that provided by Ralph of Coggeshall.

⁵² DHL: "They clearly demonstrated to the entire army.

demonstrated to the entire army that the journey to Jerusalem was fruitless and injurious for everyone, insofar as they were destitute and low on provisions, and no one among them could retain the services of the knights and pay the men-at-arms⁵³ or could provide for the employment of petrarics or the introduction of other weapons of war. Well, at last they barely gave into us, but only on the condition that we should linger in Constantinople for no more than a month, except if we tarry there by their own free will. The response to them was that it was counterproductive for us to announce the brevity of our stay because the Greeks would fear us less if they heard ahead of time mention of the shortness of the stopover.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding, they demanded⁵⁵ that we publicly pledge to stay only one month. And so it was done.

After that was done,⁵⁶ the young emperor enticed us with the promise⁵⁷ that he would liberally provide food for the entire army for a year and would maintain for a year at his own expense ten thousand mounted soldiers in the Holy Land. He also promised that, as long as he lived, he would maintain at his expense five hundred knights in the Holy Land, and he would disburse 100,000⁵⁸ marks of silver to the doge of Venice and, to be sure, just as much to our army and to us.⁵⁹

After these matters were settled and agreed upon by common consent,⁶⁰ we boarded the⁶¹ ships and reached the port of Bucca⁶²

⁵³ *Seriantes*; M/D: *sociantes* (comrades-in-arms).

⁵⁴ *DHL*: "if the length of the brief stopover were known ahead of time"; M/D: "if the length of our brief stopover were known ahead of time."

⁵⁵ *Impetiverunt*; *DHL*: *impetraverunt a nobis* (They required us).

⁵⁶ The terms that follow were initially proposed in the name of Prince Alexius by envoys from Philip of Swabia, who arrived at Zara in January 1203, and were accepted by a small band of the army's top leadership at that point: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:90-100, secs. 91-99. In all likelihood, the Greek prince reiterated these promises to the entire army when he met up with it on Corfu.

⁵⁷ *Ecantavit*; *DHL*: *promisit* (promised).

⁵⁸ M/D: 10 marks. T/T wrongly doubles the figure: "He would disburse 200,000 marks of silver to the doge of Venice and the same to our army. All other editions of the *DHL* have the correct 100,000 marks.

⁵⁹ That is, a total of 200,000 marks, as also reported by Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:92-94, sec. 93; Clari, *Conquête*, 31, sec. XXXII; and the *GeH* (see below).

Villehardouin, *ibid.*, also mentions two promises not mentioned here: to reunite the Greek Church with Rome and to campaign personally in Egypt with the crusaders, if they wished his presence on the crusade. Regarding these two promises, however, see the end of this letter.

⁶⁰ *Communi voluntate*; *DHL*: *communi utilitate* (for the common advantage); *RHGF*: *communi voluntate*.

on the eighth day.⁶³ From that point one reckons one-hundred leagues to Constantinople. From that port one is carried to Constantinople through a narrow, swiftly running sea. Sailing from there, then, through that strait, we passed by the Arm of Saint George⁶⁴ and made port on solid ground in the direction of Iconium.⁶⁵ This port lies one league from Constantinople.⁶⁶ There, indeed, we were stunned, very much astonished that none of the friends or family of the young man, who was with us, or any messenger of theirs came to him, who might tell him about the situation in the city.⁶⁷ Without delay, the emperor in power dispatched his messengers⁶⁸ to the doge of Venice, the marquis, the count of Flanders, Count Louis, and us. But, indeed, we discussed the matter privately among ourselves and said that in no way would we give a hearing to the emperor's messengers, unless he first stepped down from the throne of imperial majesty.⁶⁹ Otherwise, we would in no way listen to him or his messengers. You see, we did not want the Greeks to solicit or soften us with their gifts.⁷⁰

Furthermore,⁷¹ the emperor's army stood on the shore opposite

⁶¹ *DHL* and M/D: ``our.

⁶² Abydos, halfway up the Dardanelles on the Asiatic side. *DHL: Buccaeviae*; M/D: *Ducaevia*.

⁶³ Carl Klimke argued that this eight-day voyage was unbelievably fast: *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Vierten Kreuzzuges* (Breslau, 1875), 21-22. Perhaps not. The fleet had set sail in squadrons from Corfu on 24 and 25 May: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:123, sec. 119 and the *DC* below. The first group to arrive at Abydos had to wait eight days for the others to arrive: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:128, sec. 126. From there, the entire fleet reached the environs of Constantinople on 23 June: *ibid.*, 1:129, note 3. Given this itinerary, an eight-day voyage to Abydos for the lead squadron is not out of the question.

⁶⁴ The peninsula (arm) on which Constantinople was located. It was so called, apparently, because of the monastery of Saint George of the Mangana, which stood at the tip of the peninsula, overlooking the Bosphorus.

⁶⁵ Actually, they landed first at Chalcedon directly across from Constantinople on 24 June and then moved north to Scutari on the 26th: *FC²*, 109-110. Iconium is nowhere near Constantinople. Only T/T has the correct *Cutarium* (Scutari). See note 66.

⁶⁶ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1: 136, sec. 136, notes that Scutari lies a good league from Constantinople, so Hugh must be referring to Scutari, which is about three miles north of the city on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and not Chalcedon (note 65).

⁶⁷ *DHL* and M/D: ``Constantinople.

⁶⁸ M/D: *munera* (gifts).

⁶⁹ According to Villehardouin, Conon of Béthune dismissed Alexius III's envoy, Nicholas Roux, by telling him not to come back to the crusader camp until he could bring word of Alexius's abdication: *Conquête*, 1:142-144, secs. 141-144.

⁷⁰ M/D: ``You see, we did not want the Greeks to solicit us with their deceitful gifts [or] to destroy [us] with their promises.

⁷¹ *DHL* and M/D: *interim* (meanwhile).

us, ready to prevent our crossing and displaying hostility⁷² toward us and a readiness for battle with us. Upon seeing that, we looked to confess our sins, yet we trusted in God's help and might.⁷³ Next⁷⁴ we marshaled our battle lines and,⁷⁵ with everyone armed, we boarded the ships, transports, and galleys, which numbered two hundred,⁷⁶ not counting the skiffs and barges. When, indeed,⁷⁷ we landed [**on the opposite shore**],⁷⁸ all the Greeks, who had assembled for the purpose of preventing our crossing, by the grace of God, withdrew to such a distance⁷⁹ that [**we could barely**]⁸⁰ reach any of them even with a shot arrow. Then we made our way toward a certain heavily fortified tower known as Galata. A very great,⁸¹ excessively thick iron chain was fastened to it. Supported on [**wooden crossbeams**],⁸² it ran across the sea, stretching from the tower⁸³ all the way to the city walls. That chain protected⁸⁴ the harbor. Close by the chain, the city's ships and galleys with barges were joined in formation side by side, barring our passage.⁸⁵ In that tower,⁸⁶ moreover, there were English,⁸⁷ Pisan,

⁷² *DHL* and *M/D*: "a show (*imaginem*) of hostility.

⁷³ *DHL*: "trusting only in God's mercy"; *M/D*: "trusting only in the merciful power of God.

⁷⁴ *M/D*: "After we marshaled our battlelines, then we all boarded the ships under arms. When, indeed, with God leading the way, we landed on the opposite shore....

Note that it does not give a count of the vessels.

⁷⁵ *DHL* and *M/D*: *deinde* (then).

⁷⁶ *DHL*: "which numbered two hundred vessels fitted to sail.

The *DC* (below) informs us that forty ships, sixty-two galleys, and one hundred transports, or a total of two hundred and two major vessels, set sail from Venice; of these, three were lost in shipwrecks before the fleet reached Constantinople.

⁷⁷ *DHL* and *M/D* add: "with God leading the way.

⁷⁸ In *DHL* and *M/D* but missing here.

⁷⁹ *DHL* and *M/D*: "retreated so far from us.

⁸⁰ In *DHL* but missing here due to a corrupt text; *M/D*: "we could not.

⁸¹ *Maxima*: missing in *DHL*.

⁸² In *DHL* and *M/D* but missing here.

⁸³ *A turri*: missing in *DHL*; *M/D*: *a terra* (from the land).

⁸⁴ *Servabat*; *M/D*: *tenebat* (guarded).

⁸⁵ *Nobis transitum prohibentes*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *nobis introitum inhibentes* (hindering our entry).

⁸⁶ *M/D*: "On that oft-mentioned land, moreover. As was also the case above (note 83), *in terra* (on land) is a misreading of *in turri* (in the tower). *DHL*: "In that oft-mentioned tower, moreover.

⁸⁷ Missing in *M/D*.

Genoese,⁸⁸ and Danish⁸⁹ men-at-arms stationed to protect⁹⁰ it, who left and entered the tower whenever they wished⁹¹ to shoot arrows at our men. And indeed, we spoke about that tower with the doge of Venice, a most prudent⁹² man, [**telling him**]⁹³ that it could in no way be captured except by sappers⁹⁴ and petraries.⁹⁵ He replied to us that he would align his ships alongside the aforementioned chain and would set up his petraries and various other machines on the ships, and we should set up our siege engines on land, and in this way, with the tower⁹⁶ besieged on all sides, it might be easily captured, with the help of God.⁹⁷

Moreover, while these matters were being talked over, there were the aforementioned men in the tower,⁹⁸ who launched many⁹⁹ harassing attacks with frequent¹⁰⁰ arrow assaults on our men, but they always suffered many casualties of their own.¹⁰¹ In fact, on the third day after our tents were set up there, exiting¹⁰² from within, they

⁸⁸ *Geneviani*; *DHL*: *Ieveniani*; *M/D*: *Geneciani*; *Pertz*: *Leveniani* (chosen over the MS variant *Ieveniani*); *T/T*: *Livoniani* (Livonians), which appears in no MS. Clearly, Genoese is the correct reading. *FC*², 260, note 95, misreads the *Pertz* version as *Leventiani* (Levantine).

⁸⁹ *M/D* adds “and other.

⁹⁰ *Servandam*; *DHL*: *servandam et protegendam* (to protect and defend); *M/D*: *conservandam et protegendam* (to preserve and defend); *T/T*, *RHGF*, and *Pertz*: *protegendam*.

⁹¹ *Quando volebant*; *DHL*: *sicut et quando volebant* (as and whenever they wished); *M/D*: “as they wished.

⁹² *DHL* adds “and discreet.

⁹³ In *DHL* but missing here.

⁹⁴ Who would dig under and undermine the tower wall.

⁹⁵ *M/D* adds “along with his various war machines on the ships, but this apparent addition is the product of a scribal or editorial error of omission not commission. The error is that, prior to this phrase, *M/D* omits fourteen words that appear in *DHL* (*Balues* differs slightly in construction). One reads in *DHL* (the text omitted by *M/D* appears in bold): “**He replied to us that he would align his ships alongside the aforementioned chain [and] erect his petraries,** along with various war machines, on the ships. What we have here is a case of an eye missing an entire line of text.

⁹⁶ Rather than *turris*, *M/D* has *terris*, which leads to the somewhat nonsensical reading, “with [it] besieged on all sides on Earth. See notes 83 and 86.

⁹⁷ *DHL* and *M/D* add “and with our help.

⁹⁸ *DHL*: *sarianti in turri latitanes* (the men-at-arms lurking in the tower); *M/D*: *serjanti praefatae turris* (the men-at-arms of the aforementioned tower).

⁹⁹ Missing in *DHL*; *M/D*: *crebro* (repeatedly).

¹⁰⁰ Missing in *DHL* and *M/D*.

¹⁰¹ *DHL* and *M/D*: “By no means at any time did they break our ranks; in fact, they were rather sharply repulsed and suffered numerous casualties of their own.

¹⁰² *RHGF* and *T/T* add *acriter* (furiously).

launched violent¹⁰³ attacks on some of¹⁰⁴ our knights and foot-soldiers. Peter of Bracieux,¹⁰⁵ however, reinforced by some knights and men-at-arms, came upon the scene.¹⁰⁶ He so ercely attacked them in a hasty assault that they could offer no resistance¹⁰⁷ nor could they return to the safety of the tower. Rather, with our men blocking the way¹⁰⁸ and pursuing them resolutely,¹⁰⁹ some of them had to leap into the sea, and so some of them drowned;¹¹⁰ some were cut down; some were captured alive.¹¹¹ And immediately, through the aid of God,¹¹² the tower was captured¹¹³ and the iron¹¹⁴ chain was broken. Thereupon, indeed, with the city's ships in retreat, our ships had an open harbor, and they captured¹¹⁵ some of those ships, along with their skiffs and galleys.¹¹⁶

Then, moreover, with our ships and our ranks in battle formation, we proceeded along the shore¹¹⁷ up to a certain stone bridge, the distance of a league from the aforementioned tower.¹¹⁸ This bridge was longer¹¹⁹ than the little bridge of Paris and was so narrow that three horsemen, ank to ank, could barely cross it simultaneously. Given the depth of the stream, we could not ford elsewhere,¹²⁰ except if we had made a three-league detour.¹²¹ If, in fact,

¹⁰³ *Protervos*, which also appears in *RHGF* and *T/T*; *DHL*: *preter nos* (against us), which is redundant; *M/D*: *post nos* (after us), which is even more nonsensical.

¹⁰⁴ Missing in *M/D*.

¹⁰⁵ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 91-98.

¹⁰⁶ *Superveniens*; *M/D*: *supervenientes* (Peter of Bracieux, however, reinforced by some knights and men-at-arms who came on the scene, so ercely attacked....).

¹⁰⁷ *DHL* adds *ei* (to him).

¹⁰⁸ Missing in *DHL* and *M/D*.

¹⁰⁹ *Nostris...instante eas insequentibus*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *nostris instantibus* (with our men pressing forward). Note that *eas* is feminine plural.

¹¹⁰ *DHL* adds *ibi* (there). Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 543 (Magoulias, *O City*, 297), also notes that some defenders were drowned in their ight.

¹¹¹ ``Alive is missing in *DHL* and *M/D*.

¹¹² *Deo iuvante*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *Deo mirabiliter operante* (through God's miraculous handiwork).

¹¹³ *DHL* and *M/D* add *absque bellico instrumento* (without the use of artillery).

¹¹⁴ Missing in *DHL*.

¹¹⁵ *DHL* and *M/D* add *simul* (at once).

¹¹⁶ *DHL* and *M/D* add *bargis* (barges).

¹¹⁷ *Iuxta litus*: missing in *M/D*.

¹¹⁸ Once again *M/D* has *terra* rather than the correct *turre*; this translates as ``the distance of a league and more from the mentioned spot (*terra*).

¹¹⁹ *Protensior*; *M/D*: *potentior* (stronger).

¹²⁰ *Alias*: missing in *M/D*.

¹²¹ *DHL* says only ``a great detour. Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, 44, sec. XLIV, says four leagues.

we were separated significantly¹²² from our fleet, we would have, perhaps, run a great risk and incurred casualties.

When, however, we had reached that bridge, by the grace of God,¹²³ we crossed unopposed.¹²⁴ Moving on, we set up our tents between the emperor's palace, which is called the Blachernae,¹²⁵ and the palace of Bohemond.¹²⁶ And we were so close¹²⁷ that our arrows pelted¹²⁸ on top of the palace¹²⁹ and through the windows below,¹³⁰ and Greek arrows fell on our tents. Afterwards,¹³¹ however, we positioned our army behind thick stakes and encircled it with a palisade.¹³² With that done,¹³³ we set up our siege engines¹³⁴ and petraries before the walls. The doge of Venice, indeed, constructed¹³⁵ from the yardarms above each ship a very high bridge, one-hundred feet in height, and four armed¹³⁶ knights could walk abreast¹³⁷ on each bridge. Moreover, each transport ship had its own mangonel set up.¹³⁸

Well, in the meanwhile, while these things were taking place,¹³⁹

¹²² *Tantum*; *DHL*: *longe* (far).

¹²³ *DHL* and *M/D*: *Dei patientia* (by the sufferance of God).

¹²⁴ Clari, *Conquête*, 44, sec. XLIV, says that Greeks came there to contest the passage but were driven away; Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 164, sec. 163, mentions no resistance but says the Greeks had dismantled the bridge to the point that it took a full day and a full night to make it passable. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 543 (Magoulias, *O City*, 297), states that the Romans (Greeks) put up only slight resistance.

¹²⁵ *DHL* places this clause not here but below. See note 127.

¹²⁶ Actually the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian, known as the Cosmidion. The crusaders called it Bohemond's castle because Bohemond of Taranto had resided there in 1097.

¹²⁷ *DHL*: ``to the palace which is called the Blachernae. *M/D*, which has already identified the imperial palace by name, adds here ``to the Blachernae.

¹²⁸ *Traebant*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *cadebant* (rained down on).

¹²⁹ *M/D* adds ``of the emperor.

¹³⁰ *Infra*; *T/T*: *intra*.

¹³¹ *DHL* and *M/D*: *hoc facto* (given that this happened).

¹³² *M/D*: ``we encircled our army with thick stakes and a palisade.

¹³³ *His factis*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *deinde* (next).

¹³⁴ *Ingenia nostra*; *DHL*: *instrumenta nostra bellica*; *M/D*: *ingenia nostra bellica*.

¹³⁵ *Construxit* (also in *RHGF*, *T/T*, and *Pertz*); *DHL*: *constrinxit* (lashed); *M/D*: *constituit* (erected).

¹³⁶ *Armati*: missing in *DHL*.

¹³⁷ *De fronte*: missing in *M/D*.

¹³⁸ In what seems to be a concatenation of errors made by both the medieval scribe and Martène-Durand, *M/D* reads nonsensically: *Praeterea quidam Ussarius suus habebat magnellum erectum* (Moreover, his certain Ussarius had a mangonel erected). Someone turned *quilibet* into *quidem* and *suum* to *suus*. The editors also, apparently, thought that *ussarius* (transport ship) was a proper name.

¹³⁹ *DHL*: ``While, however, this was taking place.

large numbers of Greeks on foot and horse launched¹⁴⁰ attacks against us,¹⁴¹ but they always¹⁴² came off worse than¹⁴³ we did. On a certain day, a huge multitude of knights coming out in formation from a certain gate, which opens on the right side [**of the palace above**],¹⁴⁴ suddenly¹⁴⁵ rushed forth and forced us to take up arms. Our men threw them back¹⁴⁶ with such a massive and bold charge that many [**of them, trampling one another,**]¹⁴⁷ fell into ditches. Among these was the son of the duke of Durazzo,¹⁴⁸ who was said to be one of the more well-born¹⁴⁹ and handsome in Constantinople.¹⁵⁰ He was killed¹⁵¹ along with some others. The next day¹⁵² a certain troop of knights from the city exited through the gate of the Blachernae, in that area where we had set up our military machines, but with God's help, they were courageously¹⁵³ thrown back to their shame. It was then that a certain nobleman¹⁵⁴ was captured.¹⁵⁵ He¹⁵⁶ was one of the more powerful and higher ranking in the military among all the citizenry,¹⁵⁷ and he was an advisor to the king.¹⁵⁸

On the Wednesday that followed, it was decided and a plan was drawn up that there would be an assault on the city the next day: to wit, the doge of Venice would attack by sea, while the marquis,

¹⁴⁰ *DHL* adds *instanter* (vehemently).

¹⁴¹ *Nobis* (against us): missing in *M/D*.

¹⁴² *Semper*: missing in *DHL*.

¹⁴³ Missing in *M/D*.

¹⁴⁴ In *DHL* but missing here; *M/D*: "on the right side above.

¹⁴⁵ *Subito*; Missing in *DHL* and *M/D*. The punctuation of *RHGF*, *T/T*, and *Pertz* joins *superius*, which belongs to the phrase *a dextera parte palacii superius* (note 144), to the verb *exiit*, which results in "rushed forth from higher ground.

¹⁴⁶ *DHL* and *M/D* add *audacter* (courageously).

¹⁴⁷ In *DHL* and *M/D* but missing here.

¹⁴⁸ *Durat*; *DHL*: *Durato* (but *Ducato* in *RHGF* and *T/T*); *M/D*: *Duras*. This would probably be, as Pokorny plausibly argues the son of the governor of Durazzo-Dyrrhacion: "Zwei Briefe, 207, note 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Generosior*; *DHL*: *fortior* (stronger).

¹⁵⁰ *DHL* and *M/D*: *inter Constantinopolitanos* (among the Constantinopolitans).

¹⁵¹ *DHL*: *peremptus* (cut down).

¹⁵² *DHL* and *M/D* add *quoque* (also).

¹⁵³ *Audacter*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *potenter* (forcefully).

¹⁵⁴ *M/D* lacks "noble.

¹⁵⁵ *Retentus*; *M/D*: *interemptus*, which can mean "snatched" but also "killed.

¹⁵⁶ This was probably Constantine Lascaris, whose capture is reported in Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:168, sec. 167.

¹⁵⁷ *DHL*: "Constantinopolitans.

¹⁵⁸ *DHL* and *M/D*: "emperor. I.e. Emperor Alexius III.

the count of Flanders, and Count Louis¹⁵⁹ would attack by land.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, while the assault was taking place, I, M[atthew] of Montmorency, the marshal of Champagne, [and] O[gier]¹⁶¹ of Saint Cyrone¹⁶² would protect the army's perimeter along the valley and throughout the plains.¹⁶³ **[And so we did it. Moreover, with battle lines established and the plan completed, the doge and the Venetians,¹⁶⁴ along with some of our people, approached in force by ship <by way of the sea>¹⁶⁵. They brought the ships close to the walls, leaned ladders against the walls,]¹⁶⁶ and so the Venetians¹⁶⁷ entered the city with a gallant rush. They took twenty- ve towers,¹⁶⁸ **[broke into close to the same number]**,¹⁶⁹ and set re to a good portion of the city. Our men, indeed, launched their attacks by land. With ladders likewise positioned against a wall,¹⁷⁰ they planted their banners and standards above the walls. In fact, sappers tunneling¹⁷¹ under a wall¹⁷² collapsed one tower.**

Then the emperor, beset on every side by a burning city and our tactics,¹⁷³ stationed substantial bodies of knights at individual gates that opened onto the plains, so that he could envelope us with attacks from every side and cut off the attackers.¹⁷⁴ Likewise¹⁷⁵ in response, we set up our own battle lines: the count of Flanders with his troops, I also with mine. With each supporting [the other] with

¹⁵⁹ Missing in M/D.

¹⁶⁰ *DHL*: "the count of Flanders [and] Count Louis would attack by land, and the marquis with them.

¹⁶¹ M/D: *A*.

¹⁶² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 23-24.

¹⁶³ *DHL*: "between the valley and the plains.

¹⁶⁴ T/T: "the doge of the Venetians.

¹⁶⁵ Only in M/D.

¹⁶⁶ In *DHL* and M/D but missing here.

¹⁶⁷ *Sic Venetii*: missing in *DHL* and M/D.

¹⁶⁸ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:178, sec. 175, confirms this figure. M/D also has twenty- ve, whereas *DHL* has thirty.

¹⁶⁹ In *DHL* and M/D but missing here.

¹⁷⁰ M/D: "the walls.

¹⁷¹ *Subcavantes*; M/D: *excavantes* (excavating).

¹⁷² *DHL*: "the walls.

¹⁷³ M/D adds *importunis insultibus* (and headlong attacks).

¹⁷⁴ *DHL*: *ut nos circumquaque assilirent et invasos involverent et truncarent* (so that they could assault us from every side and envelope and cut off the attackers); M/D: *ut nos circumquaque invasos truncarent* (so that they could cut us, the invaders, off from every side).

¹⁷⁵ Missing in M/D.

his own battalion,¹⁷⁶ we sent out an advance skirmish line,¹⁷⁷ and we rode in an orderly and coordinated fashion against¹⁷⁸ the battle line opposing us. We advanced so close to them that their arrows [**and crossbow bolts**]¹⁷⁹ rained on us and, indeed, ours on them. When they saw that we were brave and steadfast and that we moved forward one after another and in formation and that we could not be¹⁸⁰ overrun or broken,¹⁸¹ they rightly became terrified and confused. Retreating before us, they did not dare to fight with us by day.¹⁸² And you should know that in our entire contingent we were not more than five hundred¹⁸³ knights and an equal number of other¹⁸⁴ horsemen, and with us there were not more than two thousand footsoldiers,¹⁸⁵ for the greater part of the footsoldiers protected the artillery and our siege machines.¹⁸⁶ Yet, when we saw them flee and retreat,¹⁸⁷ we chose not to pursue them, lest, perhaps, they inflict damage through their crafty stratagems and ambushes¹⁸⁸ on our army, our military machines, or the towers that the Venetians had captured.

The emperor, moreover, upon returning to his palace at night,¹⁸⁹ asserted that he would fight us on the morrow, but he secretly took flight in the middle of the¹⁹⁰ night. To be sure, just as the emperor

¹⁷⁶ *Uterque cum cuneo suo assistens*; *DHL*: *uterque in suo cuneo consistens* (with each staying with his own battalion). See note 177 for M/D's version.

¹⁷⁷ *Fecimus antecustodiam*; M/D: *uterque scilicet in cuneo suo consistens ante custodiam* (with each, to be sure, staying with his own battalion at the head of the skirmish line).

¹⁷⁸ *Contra*; M/D: *juxta* (along side).

¹⁷⁹ Added by *DHL* and M/D (*balistarum* and *arbalistarum*, respectively).

¹⁸⁰ *DHL* and M/D add "easily" (*faciliter* and *de facili*, respectively).

¹⁸¹ *Corrumpti*; missing in M/D.

¹⁸² *Die*; because *DHL* has *Dei gratia* (by the grace of God), Pokorný reasonably suggests that *die* is possibly a scribal misreading of *Dei gratia*: "Zwei Briefe," 208, note i. M/D has neither.

¹⁸³ M/D: *ducenti* (two hundred).

¹⁸⁴ *Alii*; missing in *DHL*.

¹⁸⁵ *DHL*: *sarianes non habuimus plures quam 2,000 peditum* (of men-at-arms, we did not have more than 2,000 footsoldiers); M/D: *non habuimus plures quam duo milia peditum* (we did not have more than two thousand footsoldiers).

¹⁸⁶ *DHL*: *major enim pars statuebatur ad ingenia nostra conservanda* (for the greater part was stationed in defense of our siege machines); M/D has the same wording but without *nostra* (our).

¹⁸⁷ *Abire*; missing in M/D.

¹⁸⁸ *Dolos et insidias*; M/D is missing *insidias*.

¹⁸⁹ *Nocte*; missing in M/D.

¹⁹⁰ *DHL* adds *eadem* (same).

had predicted, we intended¹⁹¹ to fight on Thursday.

On the following day,¹⁹² therefore, through the handiwork of God,¹⁹³ the city was turned over to us, and at that moment eight days had passed from the [beginning of] the siege.¹⁹⁴ Then, truly, Emperor Kirisac and his wife the empress, namely the sister of the king of Hungary,¹⁹⁵ both of whom had been held and shut up in the horror of prison¹⁹⁶ for such a long time,¹⁹⁷ thanked us profusely. They confessed in us that they had been liberated from prison and recovered the imperial dignity through the grace of God and by our help. On the morrow we should enter the palace as if it were our own, along with their son, whom they had missed for so long. And¹⁹⁸ we did it, and we feasted¹⁹⁹ with great rejoicing and seemly dignity.

I especially want you to know this: Stephen of Perche,²⁰⁰ Rainal of Montmirail,²⁰¹ Enguerrand of Boves,²⁰² I. of Boves,²⁰³ Simon

¹⁹¹ *DHL* and *M/D* add *pariter* (in an equal degree).

¹⁹² Thursday, 18 July.

¹⁹³ *Deo operante*; *DHL*: *deo cooperante* (with God's cooperation); *RHGF*: *deo dante* (God granting it).

¹⁹⁴ *DHL* and *M/D* add "of the city.

¹⁹⁵ Born Margaret, a daughter of King Béla III of Hungary, she went to Constantinople, where she was renamed Maria. In late 1185 or early 1186, she married Isaac II, just before her tenth birthday. The fate of Manuel, her son by Isaac, is unknown. Alexis IV was Isaac's son by a previous marriage. Following the second capture of Constantinople, Boniface of Montfort claimed the widowed Margaret-Maria as his wife.

¹⁹⁶ *Carceris*: missing in *M/D*. One wonders how horrible it actually was. Nicetas Choniates reports that Isaac was incarcerated in very comfortable circumstances and was free to receive any and all guests: *Historia*, 536 (Magoulias, *O City*, 294). Although the sources are silent about the empress's circumstances, it seems reasonable to assume that, following Byzantine tradition, she was shut up in a nunnery.

¹⁹⁷ Since 1195.

¹⁹⁸ *DHL* and *M/D* add *ita* (so).

¹⁹⁹ *DHL* adds *cum eis* (with them).

²⁰⁰ Count Stephen had been disabled by either disease or accident and was left behind at Venice. In March 1203, he set sail from Apulia directly for Palestine: *FC²*, 71; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 105.

²⁰¹ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 114-115. Rainal, a leader of the dissident faction, was entrusted to head a delegation from the army to the Holy Land. Although he and his colleagues swore on the Gospels to return to the host within fifteen days of delivering the message, Rainal remained absent until after the army's capture of Constantinople: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:102, sec. 102, and 2:123-124, sec. 315. Possibly his cousin Count Louis of Blois, who supported his receiving this office, saw it as a way of giving Rainal an honorable escape, the oath to return notwithstanding. Obviously Hugh did not look favorably on Rainal's departure and seems to have viewed it for what it was.

²⁰² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 123-124. He defected at an unknown time but after Simon

of Montfort,²⁰⁴ R[obert] Mauvoisin,²⁰⁵ and the abbot of Vaux²⁰⁶ are creating great discord in the fleet. They are proceeding to Jerusalem, and by hastening to the king of Hungary,²⁰⁷ they have left our army and us in mortal danger. We truly have very much to say in praise of the doge of Venice, a man, so to speak, who is prudent, discreet, and skilled in hard decision-making. As to the chief reason why we captured Constantinople, I am going to unfold and make clear to you another [reason] to come [here], by far better and more glorious than the aforementioned [reasons].²⁰⁸ That is to say, in this affair we carried on²⁰⁹ the business of Jesus Christ,²¹⁰ with His help,²¹¹ to the point that the Eastern Church (whose head is

of Montfort: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:112, sec. 109.

²⁰³ A scribal error. This refers probably to Enguerrand's brother Hugh, who quit the army at Zara with Hugh: Villehardouin, *ibid.* A less likely reference is their brother Robert, a notable dissident who served as one of the army's four envoys to Innocent III after the Zaran Affair and then traveled to Syria directly from Rome: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 124-125. M/D has the same error: *J. de Bove*.

²⁰⁴ Probably the most notable defector: Queller, "Neglected Majority," 453; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 113-114.

²⁰⁵ He defected in the company of Simon of Montfort: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:110-112, sec. 109; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 121-122.

²⁰⁶ Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, a companion of Simon of Montfort: Villehardouin, *ibid.*, 112; Longnon, *ibid.*, 127-128; Monique Zerner-Chardavoine, "L'abbé Gui des Vaux-de-Cernay: Prédicateur de croisade," *Cahiers de fanjeaux* 21 (1986): 183-204.

²⁰⁷ Regarding these apparently contradictory objectives—proceeding to Jerusalem and hastening to the king of Hungary—see M/D's alternative reading in note 208, which seems to clear up some of the confusion. But even so, some of those pilgrims who first went to the king of Hungary eventually made their way to Syria-Palestine. Simon of Montfort, for example, first made a treaty for safe conduct with the king of Hungary and then led his company along the Adriatic coast to Italy, where they finally boarded ships in Apulia for the Holy Land: *FC*², 93.

²⁰⁸ Everything from "Steven of Perche" to this point is missing in *DHL*. M/D: "And I especially want you to know these things, namely that R. of Parke (Stephen of Perche?), and R. of Montmirail, [and] A. (Enguerrand?) of Boves are proceeding to Jerusalem, and J. (Hugh?) of Boves, and Simon of Montfort, R. Mauvoisin, [and] the abbot of Vaux are creating great discord in the fleet and are hastening to the king of Hungary. With this abandonment of our army, they have left us in mortal danger. We, especially have much to say in praise of the doge of Venice, a man, so to speak, who is exceedingly prudent and skilled in hard decision-making. As to why we mainly troubled ourselves to come to the royal city, I am going to give you a satisfactory explanation—indeed, another [explanation] added to the aforementioned [ones] [and] far better and more glorious.

²⁰⁹ *DHL* and M/D add *usque* (continuously).

²¹⁰ *Iesu Christi*; *DHL* and M/D: *Salvatoris* (the Savior).

²¹¹ *Ipsa iuvante*; missing in *DHL* and M/D.

Constantinople²¹²), along with the emperor and his entire empire, reunited with its head, the Roman Pontiff (as was the case in antiquity), acknowledges itself to be the daughter of the Roman Church. It also wishes, with humbled head, to obey the same more devoutly in the future in accordance with normal custom.²¹³ The patriarch himself,²¹⁴ who desires and²¹⁵ applauds this step, petitions²¹⁶ all the way to the Roman See to receive the pallium of his office,²¹⁷ and on this issue²¹⁸ he, along with the emperor, swore a sacred oath to us.²¹⁹

In addition to this,²²⁰ our new²²¹ emperor, with everything that he had promised us²²² fully and completely rendered, bound²²³ himself to us by oath to cross the sea with us in next March's voyage,²²⁴ accompanied by ten thousand soldiers,²²⁵ and to provide food for one year to the entire army of the Lord. He would also, out of his own resources,²²⁶ make the Venetian fleet available to us for an additional year. Also envoys were sent ahead on his part and our own to the sultan of Babylon, the impious invader and occupier of the Holy Land.²²⁷ We announced²²⁸ to him²²⁹ that this very

²¹² *DHL*: "whose chief city has been for a long time Constantinople"; *M/D*: "whose head has been Constantinople."

²¹³ *M/D*: "the Eastern Church..., along with the emperor and his entire empire, acknowledges itself to be the son of its head, the Roman Pontiff and, bound in humility, wishes to obey the same more devoutly in the future in accordance with normal custom."

²¹⁴ *DHL* adds *etiam eiusdem ecclesie* (also, of this very Church); *M/D* adds only *etiam ejusdem*.

²¹⁵ *M/D* is missing the conjunction *et*, which results in: "The patriarch, also, of this very [Church], who desires this step, petitions with applause all the way..."

²¹⁶ *Requiret*; *DHL*: *adibit* (will travel).

²¹⁷ *DHL* and *M/D* add "from the Supreme Pontiff."

²¹⁸ *Hoc*; *M/D*: *hac* (these issues).

²¹⁹ *Nobis prestitit sacramentum*; *DHL* and *M/D*: *juramenti praestitit cautionem* (gave surety by an oath) and do not have "to us."

²²⁰ *DHL* lacks the entire paragraph that follows.

²²¹ *Novus*; missing in *M/D*.

²²² *Nobis*; missing in *M/D*.

²²³ *Astrinxit*; *M/D*: *constrinxit*.

²²⁴ *Ad passagium Martii instantis*; *M/D*: *ad medium instantis Martii* (toward the middle of next March).

²²⁵ *Armatorum*; *M/D*: *bellatorum*.

²²⁶ *Suis sumptibus*; missing in *M/D*.

²²⁷ *Terre sancte invasorem impium et detentorem*; *M/D*: *Terrae-sanctae ipsius detentorem* (the occupier of this Holy Land).

²²⁸ *Mandavimus*; *M/D*: *mandat* (he announces).

²²⁹ *Ei*; Missing in *M/D*.

man,²³⁰ who will make known in the near future the devotion of the Christian people to his²³¹ heathen people who reside there,²³² looks to²³³ the power and mercy of God for the ruination of in delity.

We, therefore, excited by the large number of important bene ts and held here by the holy hope of fruitful²³⁴ advantages, have decided²³⁵ to spend the winter in the aforementioned²³⁶ city. We have taken care to announce this very fact to our brethren in the regions beyond the sea, who await our arrival, so that, when they hear rumors of our successes,²³⁷ which we prefer²³⁸ that they²³⁹ share, they, supported by the aid of holy hope,²⁴⁰ might more steadfastly²⁴¹ await us.²⁴²

[You should also know that we have accepted a tournament against the sultan of Babylon in front of Alexandria. If, therefore, anyone wishes to serve God (to serve Him is to rule), and wishes to bear the distinguished and shining title of "knight," let him take up the Cross and follow the Lord, and let him come to the Lord's tournament, to which he is invited by the Lord himself. Farewell.]²⁴³

²³⁰ Emperor Alexius IV.

²³¹ The sultan.

²³² *Gentis sue incole*; M/D: *genti suae incredulae* (his unbelieving heathen people). *Genti sue incole* seems to be a double scribal error. In light of M/D and also the nobles' letter to King Otto IV, which also employs the phrase *incredule genti sue*, it seems clear that *gentis* should be the dative *genti* and *incole* should be *incredule*. See the appendix to Reg. 6:210 (211) for the concluding lines to the letter to Otto.

²³³ *Prestolatur*; M/D: *expectabit*.

²³⁴ *Felicium*; DHL and M/D: *futurorum* (future).

²³⁵ *Proposuimus*; M/D: *proponimus* (we propose).

²³⁶ *Praedictam*; DHL and M/D: *praescriptam* (previously written about).

²³⁷ *Successuum*; DHL and M/D: *gaudiorum* (joys).

²³⁸ *Preoptamus*; M/D: a nonsensical *peroptamus*.

²³⁹ *Eos* appears in DHL and M/D but is missing here.

²⁴⁰ *Spei* in DHL and M/D; an incorrect *spes* here.

²⁴¹ *Constantius*; DHL: *a Constantinopoli* (from Constantinople).

²⁴² *Nos*; missing in M/D.

The letters to R. de Balues and to the anonymous recipient in M/D's version end here.

²⁴³ Only in DHL.

PART TWO

IN REFLECTION: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS AFTER THE FACT

We are aware of the fragility and fallibility of human memory, especially when memory is influenced by an overriding agenda. Yet, historians must work with such flawed sources (as, indeed, all sources are flawed) and from them fashion a reasonable picture of the past. Students of the Fourth Crusade know well the narrative accounts of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, both of which have had their strengths and shortcomings analyzed and debated by scores of historians.¹ We need not involve ourselves in that on-going discussion, especially since there are other after-the-fact eyewitness or near-eyewitness sources that deserve study but have all too often been overlooked, undervalued, or misunderstood. These are the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* (hereafter *DC*),² the short relic translation account of the so-called Anonymous of Soissons,³ and that portion of the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* (hereafter *GeH*) that deals with the crusade exploits of Bishop Conrad of

¹ E. g. A. J. Andrea, "Essay on Primary Sources," in *FC*², 299-303; Paul Archambault, "Villehardouin: History in Black and White," in his *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1974), 25-39; Jeannette M. A. Beer, *Villehardouin: Epic Historian* (Geneva, 1968); Jean Dufournet, "Villehardouin et les Vénitiens," *L'information littéraire* 21 (1969): 7-19; Edmond Faral, "Geoffrey de Villehardouin: La question de sa sincérité," *Revue historique* 176 (1936): 530-582; M. Hellweg, "Die ritterliche Welt in der französischen Geschichtsschreibung des vierten Kreuzzuges," *Romanische Forschungen* 52 (1938): 1-40; Klimke, *Quellen*, 3-19; and Colin Morris, "Geoffrey of Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople," *History* 53 (1968): 24-34.

² Edited by Andrea, *Devastatio*, 131-138, and translated, *ibid.*, 139-149; Charles Hopf, ed., *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 86-92; and Karl Pertz, *MGH SS*, 16:9-12. Translated into Spanish with notes by M. A. C. de Muscietti and B. S. Diaz Pereyra, "Devastatio Constantinopolitana: Introducción, traducción y notes," *Anales de historia antigua y medieval* 15 (1970): 171-190 (but be careful of the notes, which contain a number of errors). See also M. Kandel, "Quelques observations sur la *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*," *Byzantion*, 4 (1927-1928): 79-88, Klimke, *Quellen*, 61-64, and Andrea, *Devastatio*, 107-129.

³ Edited by Andrea, "Holy War," 157-163, and translated, *ibid.*, 165-175; Alexander Poquet, ed., *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suesionensis* (Paris, 1856), 265-270; and Paul Riant, ed., *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 2 vols. (Geneva and Paris), 1:1-9. Commentary by Andrea and Rachlin, "Holy War," 147-156.

Krosigk.⁴The first of these is, as is the case with Villehardouin and Clari, an account by a crusade participant; the other two are what might be called oral histories—accounts written by parties who had not been on the crusade but who based their narratives on the reminiscences of high-ranking churchmen who had been there.

⁴ The *GeH* is edited by Ludwig Weiland in MGH SS. 23:73-123. A translation appears in Andrea, "Anonymous Chronicler," 116-121. Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:10-21, excerpted parts of the Anonymous's account, beginning with the rubric "The Pilgrimage to Greece" and continuing down through the description of the relics and other treasures that Conrad brought back to Halberstadt. Riant titled the excerpt *De peregrinatione in Greciam et adventu reliquiarum de Grecia libellus* (*The Little Book on the Pilgrimage to Greece and the Arrival of Relics from Greece*) and argued that this little book is complete in itself and should, therefore, be separated from the rest of the *GeH*: 1:lv. I disagree. This crusade account must be read in the context of the larger story of Conrad's entire pontificate, to which it is subordinated. For further commentary, see Andrea, "Anonymous Chronicler," 447-455, and Klimke, *Quellen*, 59-61.

1. THE *DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA*

The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* (*The Devastation of Constantinople*) is a brief, largely eyewitness account of the Fourth Crusade, spanning the period from Cardinal Peter Capuano's preaching the Cross in France in 1198, which the *DC* misdates as 1202, to the division of the spoils of Constantinople in the spring of 1204. The text's straightforward, matter-of-fact style and its wealth of dates and similar facts suggest that the author composed it from notes or a personal journal. At the same time, the work's structural and thematic coherence suggests that what we have is not a raw diary but a work of crafted history. Its date of composition is, however, uncertain. The author sets the opening scene by placing Cardinal Peter's arrival in France "in the time when Innocent III presided over the Roman Church. This suggests he wrote after 16 July 1216, the death date of Pope Innocent, but it is scarcely compelling evidence for establishing a date before which he could not have composed his account.

Whenever he wrote, the author failed to give us his name, or it was lost in transcription, and therein lies a problem. The author tells us nothing about himself directly. What little we think we know about him must be inferred from a careful reading of the text. As I have argued in detail elsewhere,¹ internal evidence strongly suggests the following: 1) The *DC*'s author came from the German Rhineland. 2) Because his account does not show any bias in favor of Boniface, Baldwin, or any other noble, it is not likely that he traveled in the party of any of the secular leaders. 3) His work is decidedly unofficial and shows no demonstrable use of any other record or account—the encyclical letters of 1203 and 1204 included. 4) Albeit unofficial, this story is structured around a series of contracts; 5) This contractual schema does not, however, lead to the

¹ Andrea, "Special Perspective," 112-126.

conclusion that our author was a lay bookkeeper, such as a merchant or a notary. It is much more likely that he was a secular cleric and probably an ecclesiastical administrator. 6) Even though he was a person who in all likelihood was involved in ecclesiastical business, his perspective was that of a *pauper Christi* (a poor man of Christ), and his account betrays a decided bias against the rich and mighty who, in his eyes, sold out the crusade and Christ's poor.

The *DC* is a short work—five pages in manuscript—but among the wealth of factual data contained therein are at least eight major compacts and several lesser accords, and each of the major contracts is entered into at a significant developmental moment in the story.² Indeed, individually and collectively they frame the action and define the direction of the crusade's development. First there is the taking of the crusade vow, and when several crusade leaders, most notably Fulk of Neuilly and the count of Champagne, die before ever leaving Europe, their covenants with God are taken up by surrogates. A countercrusade compact follows on the heels of this when the Lombard cities enter into an agreement to hurry the pilgrims out of Lombardy. After experiencing difficulties in Venice, the crusaders finally seem to be back on track when two necessary accords are reached. The barons swear allegiance to the marquis, and they also agree to remain dependent upon the Venetians for a full year. Next come the treaty with Alexius at Zara and the countercompact made by dissident elements in the army, who swear they will never go to Constantinople. As the army sails to Constantinople, Alexius receives pledges of loyalty from Greeks along the route. After capturing Constantinople for Alexius, the army receives both his oaths of help and security for those promises. Thereafter, wishing to pursue the former emperor, the new emperor reaches an understanding with certain elements of the army to help him in this venture. His expedition is successful, at least to the point that he receives pledges of homage from all of Greece. Lord Henry

² Cynthia Ruth Arthur, "The Destruction of Constantinople: A Translation with Introduction and Commentary" (M.A. thesis, The University of Vermont, 1981), 3-13, was the first to note the fact that the *DC* is centered around contracts and agreements. "Perspective," 114-117, delineates where Ms. Arthur and I differ in our identification of the author. Thomas F. Madden, "Vows and Contracts in the Fourth Crusade: The Treaty of Zara and the Attack on Constantinople in 1204," *International History Review* 15 (1993): 441-468, studies the role that vows and contracts had as driving forces in the course of the crusade.

of Hainaut and Alexius have a falling out, however, when the emperor fails to pay what he had promised. Consequently Henry and a majority of the crusaders campaigning with Alexius return to Constantinople early. Eventually, of course, Alexius IV and the pilgrim army have a total falling out and war ensues. The result is conquest of the city, whereupon the Greeks fall at the feet of the marquis, surrendering themselves into his hands. Following that, the army elects Baldwin as emperor, thereby tacitly establishing a new contract. With the crown of empire in Frankish hands, the Venetians seek to establish their right to control the patriarchate, but this is voided when the pilgrim clergy reserves the right of appointment to Hagia Sophia to the papacy.

Additionally, the *DC* surrounds, illuminates, and enriches its account of these various accords with a good deal of numerical detail. As far as we can determine, its facts, figures, and dates are generally reliable but not invariably so. We have already seen how the *DC* misdates the earliest French interest in the crusade. Other minor factual errors suggest the degree to which the *DC*'s author was removed from the councils of the crusade's leadership. He errs when he states that Marquis Boniface accepted the dead count of Champagne's funds and equipment to crusade in his place,³ and his account of the legation that Philip of Swabia sent to the army at Zara reveals his ignorance of Alexius the Younger's earlier contacts with certain crusade leaders.⁴ Also other, more reliable sources make it clear that the crusaders did not discover Emperor Isaac shackled in a prison within the Blachernae Palace when they entered Constantinople in July of 1203.⁵ Furthermore, Baldwin's estimate of 1000 soldiers lying in ambush for Henry seems a lot closer to the truth than the *DC*'s 15,000, and some have questioned the *DC*'s estimate that the level of mortality among the crusaders awaiting passage in

³ Count Thibault's surrogate was Renaud of Dampierre: Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne," 30-33; see also Alberic of Trois Fontaines below.

⁴ This is the initial mention of Alexius the Younger in the *DC*, and the implication is that this overture was unexpected. Actually, Prince Alexius had already met Boniface of Montferrat at Philip of Swabia's court at Hagenau in late 1201, and in August of 1202 Alexius contacted a number of crusaders in Verona: Folda, "Reconsiderations, 277-290. The basic source for these negotiations is Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:70-74, secs. 70-72.

⁵ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 550-551 (Magoulias, *O City*, 301), and Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:184, sec. 182, make it clear that Isaac II was already back on the imperial throne when the crusaders entered the city.

Venice was so great that “the dead could barely be buried by the living.”⁶ While this last item may be a case of exaggeration, as a rule of thumb we can say that if the *DC*’s author witnessed or directly participated in an event, his reporting of it contains facts and figures that have a high degree of reliability. The more he depends on camp rumor, the less dependable his information.

This person from the ranks was, in all likelihood, a secular cleric and probably a low-level ecclesiastical administrator. Certainly his use of the ecclesiastical calendar and his reference to two Introit antiphons strongly suggest a clerical background, and the fact that he lists churchmen first in his catalogues of the French and German crusade leaders hints at a clerical mind-set. However, anyone who sees him as a cleric must address several vexing points. Our author employs a tone of detachment when dealing with the dispute between the pilgrim clergy and the Venetians over the patriarchate of Hagia Sophia. Also the supernatural plays no role in his history. Moreover, the author never directly mentions the schism that separated the Latin and Greek Churches⁷ nor does he tell his readers of Alexius IV’s promise to return the Greeks to Roman obedience—a curious but not unique oversight by a clerical witness to the Fourth Crusade.⁸

These points become far less vexing when we perceive that the author essentially adopted the Epistle of Saint James, 2:5-7, as the thematic text around which he centered his history. As any reasonably well-educated thirteenth-century cleric would know, this passage proclaims:

Did not God choose those who are poor in the eyes of the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom he promised to those who love him? Yet you treated the poor man shame-

⁶ *FC*², 53. This is a literary topos, of course, but to dismiss it as evidence simply on that basis is to overlook the fact that, until the twentieth century, disease was the greatest killer of soldiers.

⁷ However, after reporting Henry of Hainaut’s abandonment of Alexius IV’s campaign in northern Greece, the author writes: “The marquis, along with a few Christians [i.e. Latin crusaders], remained with the emperor. Possibly this strange turn of phrase reflects a belief that the Greeks were not fully Christians, insofar as they were schismatics.

⁸ The Anonymous of Soissons, for example, which is based on the exploits of Nivelon of Chèrissy, bishop of Soissons, does not mention the schism, even though the work belongs to the genre of relic translation literature. See below.

fully. Are not the rich exploiting you? They are the ones who haul you into the courts and who blaspheme that noble name which has made you God's own.⁹

In short, this cleric identified with the crusade's poorer elements the *pauperes Christi* and he told his story from their perspective. Even as he counted material losses and gains, his ultimate interest was the progress of the pilgrimage undertaken by those who were "poor in the eyes of the world.

This author has been accused of being anti-Venetian.¹⁰ If we examine the *DC* closely, we see that his rancor was directed not so much against the Venetians as against all the rich and mighty: Venetians, French nobility, and avaricious clerics alike. Contracts abound in this account and give it structure, but as we look more deeply we see that the two core contracts, the crusade vow and the implied compact between the pilgrim rank and the leaders, are consistently violated, and in the end there is no proper balancing of accounts. Therefore, the thematic argument of the *DC* is that the Fourth Crusade was a series of broken promises, not only by Alexius IV but also by the rich and powerful, and in the end both the crusade and the poor of Christ were sold out.

Throughout the *DC* we see the wealth and success of the crusade's leaders contrasted with the poverty and miseries of the commons. When the count of Champagne dies, the marquis accepts his pilgrimage funds and swears to carry out the count's intentions. Upon Master Fulk's death, the "innumerable wealth" which Fulk had raised "to pay for the work of this holy army" passes into the receivership of two French lords. Somehow, however, despite this reservoir of funds, the poor suffer in the course of the crusade.

Their troubles begin in Italy. The Lombards hurry them along from city to city, refusing to sell them provisions or to allow them to tarry more than a night. The Venetians also refuse the pilgrims the hospitality of their houses and force them to camp in tents on the Isle of Saint Nicholas. Here the Venetians inexplicably and quite arbitrarily hold the pilgrims captive for four months while charging them an exorbitant price for food. Such treatment drives

⁹ Translation according to The New American Bible (New York, 1970).

¹⁰ Donald E. Queller and Irene B. Katele, "Attitudes towards the Venetians in the Fourth Crusade: The Western Sources," *The International History Review* 4 (1982): 23-25.

the majority of the army to leave Venice, seeking passage from other ports. Those who elect to remain in Venice suffer an inordinately high mortality rate. Their misery is relieved when Cardinal Peter arrives in Venice. He lifts their morale by his preaching and dispenses the sick, the very poor, women, and similar unsuitable pilgrims from their crusade vows. Having done this, he returns to Rome, and once again the rank and file are in the control of the rich and powerful. The marquis arrives, is confirmed as the army's leader, and the barons swear allegiance to him. He and those same barons swear to remain with the Venetians for a year, and again the commoners' troubles begin.

The Venetians and the army finally set sail, and on their way to Zara the Venetians force all of Istria, Dalmatia, and Slavonia to acknowledge their overlordship and to pay tribute. Finally the host arrives at Zara where, the *DC* pointedly notes, "their oath came to naught. The phrase was unambiguous in its thirteenth-century context: the crusade vow was violated by an enterprise that even it could not stop. No reason is explicitly given for the army's siege and assault on the city, although our author clearly implies that it was an integral part of the Venetians' program of subjugating the northern and eastern Adriatic coasts.

The citizens eventually surrender the city and all of their possessions to the doge, who retains half for himself and his people and gives the other half to the pilgrims. Both factions loot the city mercilessly and then, as often happens to thieves, they have a falling out. The result is almost one hundred dead crusaders and Venetians. Meanwhile, the poorer elements are neglected. In the *DC*'s words: "The barons kept the city's goods for themselves, giving nothing to the poor. The poor labored mightily in poverty and hunger. As a result, more than several thousand leave the army at this juncture. Once again the leaders' avarice, this time that of the barons, has led to a significant thinning of the crusader ranks. The debits in the account ledger of our clerical chronicler keep mounting.

When a messenger arrives at Zara from Alexius the Younger on 1 January 1203 the marquis and barons swear allegiance to him. Upon learning of this new compact, the lower orders swear that they will never sail to Greece, and consequently another large segment breaks off and heads to Hungary.

Although reduced to dire straits at both Venice and Zara, obviously many from the ranks still stay with the army and sail to Con-

stantinople. Even though ultimately Alexius and the Greeks break their promises, success follows upon success for the crusaders. Henry of Hainaut, who had broken off campaigning with Alexius because the young emperor did not pay what he had promised, receives his recompense with his extraordinary victory over Mourt-zouphlus. But what about the commoners?

When Constantinople is finally won, the Greeks surrender their possessions into the marquis's hands. The army gathers together its spoils, filling three very large towers with silver. The pilgrim barons secure the imperial crown for one of their own, Baldwin of Flanders. "At the same time," the *DC* informs us, "the Venetians occupied the church of the Holy Wisdom, saying: 'the empire is yours; we shall have the patriarchate.' While the Venetians and, presumably, the upper elements of the pilgrim clergy bicker over this rich and holy spoil, the ranks receive their share of the loot. Consider the chronicler's words:

Meanwhile, they began to divide the common booty, and to give, almost like certain downpayments twenty marks to each and every knight, ten marks to each cleric and mounted sergeant, and five marks to each foot soldier.

With these words the *Devastatio* comes to an abrupt end. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the phrase "almost like certain downpayments" (*quasi quedam preludia*) is intentional sarcasm and the whole scene is constructed to serve as an ironic anticlimax. The account has been closed but not balanced.

If the *Devastatio* has any villains, it is the rich and the mighty, be they barons or Venetians. At each crucial juncture of the crusade—Venice, Zara, and Constantinople—the poorer elements have been exploited by their superiors, first the Venetians, then the barons, and finally both the Venetians and the barons, who, in the division of the spoils, treat the rank and file with contempt as they cheat and exploit them. And in this exploitation a crusade compact has been violated. The poor may have inherited the Earth, but the rich have taken it away from them. What is worse, the crusade has foundered upon the rock of greed.

What we have in the *DC*, therefore, is a source that does not present the 1204 capture of Constantinople as an unalloyed victory

and blessing. Very much like Robert of Clari's account,¹¹ it reflects dissatisfaction from the ranks at the ways in which the lower elements were cheated by their leaders. More significantly, it displays a marked degree of negativity toward the outcome of the crusade. As such, it expresses the reservations and disillusionment of at least one significant element of the rank and file of the Fourth Crusade.

The Devastation of Constantinople

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation, 1202, when Lord Innocent was presiding over the Roman Church and Philip¹² and Otto¹³ were competing for the Roman empire, a cardinal, Master Peter,¹⁴ crossed the Alps into Burgundy, Champagne, the Île de France, and Flanders and preached the cause of the Cross. By his authority as well, Master Fulk, a man of holy reputation, traveled about the neighboring regions preaching. Many of the faithful accepted the Cross, among whom the following are of primary importance: the bishop of Soissons, the bishop of Troyes, the abbot of Vaux, the abbot of Loos,¹⁵ and five other abbots of the Cistercian order,¹⁶ the count of Champagne,¹⁷ the count of Saint Pol, the count of Blois, the count of Flanders, along with two of his brothers,¹⁸ the German

¹¹ Clari, *Conquête*, 79-81, 95-96, secs. LXXX, XCVIII, complained bitterly that the crusade leaders kept all gold, gems, fine clothes, and houses for themselves and only divided common silver utensils among the ranks.

¹² Philip of Swabia (1176-1208; r. 1207-1208) of the house of Hohenstaufen.

¹³ Otto IV (r. 1208-1214; d. 1218) of the house of Welf.

¹⁴ Peter Capuano.

¹⁵ Simon of Loos, a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Tournai: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 165.

¹⁶ Only six Cistercian abbots embarked on the crusade. In addition to Guy, Simon, and Abbot Martin of Pairis, who is mentioned below, they included Adam of Perseigne, Peter of Lucedio, and the abbot of Cercanceaux: Andrea, *Capture*, 21-22.

¹⁷ Thibaut III (r. 1197-1201): Ellen E. Kittell, "Was Thibaut of Champagne the Leader of the Fourth Crusade?" *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 557-565; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 11-13.

¹⁸ Only one of Baldwin's two brothers, Henry, swore the Cross: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:10-12, sec. 8. Quite possibly the author of the *DC* mistakes Baldwin's nephew Thierry, son of Philip of Alsace, as Baldwin's brother. Baldwin's other brother was named Philip of Namur, and this could have contributed to the confusion. Among many other clues, this error certainly suggests that the author was not connected intimately with the crusade leadership's inner circle.

On the family of Baldwin that went on crusade, see: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 140-145. *FC*², 5, errs when it states that Baldwin's brother "Eustace" swore the cross along with

bishops of Basle¹⁹ and Halberstadt, the abbot of Pairis,²⁰ Count Berthold,²¹ and a countless multitude of clerics, laity, and monks.

Just when the count of Champagne had completed all necessary preparations for departure, he died.²² The marquis²³ accepted the count's money and all his equipment for the journey and swore he would fulfill the count's vow.²⁴ For that reason the marquis was straightway elected leader of the army.²⁵ The count of Perche died before beginning his journey.²⁶ His brother Lord Stephen²⁷ accepted his Cross. Also Master Fulk, when ready for battle, died.²⁸ Lord Odo of Champlitte²⁹ and the castellan of Coucy³⁰ received, by authority of the king of France³¹ and his wise counsellors, Fulk's innumerable wealth to pay for the work of this holy army.³²

As this army, drawn from the diverse regions of the world, was assembling in Lombardy, the Lombards, after deliberation, promulgated an edict that no one should provide hospitality to a pilgrim beyond one night or sell them provisions. Consequently, the Lombards hurried the pilgrims along from city to city. Moreover, the lord pope had ordered that passage be taken from Venice.³³ When they arrived there, they were likewise driven from urban

Baldwin and Henry.

¹⁹ Luthold of Röheln (r. 1190-1213).

²⁰ Martin: Gunther of Pairis, *HC*, passim.

²¹ Berthold, count of Katzenellenbogen: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 244-245.

²² 24 May 1201.

²³ Boniface of Montferrat.

²⁴ Not so. Count Thibaut chose Renaud II of Dampierre as his surrogate. See Alberic of Trois Fontaines (below), and Andrea, "Adam," 29-31.

²⁵ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:36-46, secs. 35-45, gives the correct story.

²⁶ Geoffrey III of Perche died probably on 5 April 1202: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 104.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁸ May 1202.

²⁹ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 209-210.

³⁰ Guy: *ibid.*, 118.

³¹ Philip II.

³² Ernoul's *Chronicle* gives another story: Ernoul et Bernard le Trésorier, *Chronique*, Louis de Mas Latrie, ed. (Paris, 1871), 338. Following Fulk's death, the wealth he had collected for the Holy Land and crusade was entrusted to the Cistercians and was transported to the East by monks from Cîteaux. There it was used to repair the walls of Tyre, Beirut, and Acre. Ernoul's version is preferable for several reasons: a severe earthquake had recently hit that area of the Holy Land; at this period in the history of the crusade movement, crusaders were still expected to fund their own travel costs; and the diversions to Zara and Constantinople were largely a consequence of the army's lack of sufficient money.

³³ Only in 1202, long after the crusader leaders had entered into a contract with Venice: *FC*², 7-8.

dwellings and were placed on the isle of Saint Nicholas.³⁴ Here, after pitching their tents, they awaited passage from the Kalends of June to the Kalends of October.³⁵ A *sistarius*³⁶ of grain sold for fifty *solidi*.³⁷ As often as it pleased the Venetians, they decreed that no one release any of the pilgrims from the aforementioned island. Consequently the pilgrims, almost like captives, were dominated by them in all respects. Moreover, a great fear developed among the commons. Therefore, many returned home; many others flocked into Apulia³⁸ to other ports and crossed the sea. A minority remained in Venice, among whom an unusual mortality rate now arose. The result was that the dead could barely be buried by the living.

On the feast of St Mary Magdalene³⁹ the lord cardinal Peter came to Venice and, in a marvelous manner, raised the morale of all the pilgrims by his enthusiastic preaching. He sent the sick, paupers, women, and all feeble persons home, with letters from him.⁴⁰ Having done this, he departed and returned to Rome. On the feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary⁴¹ the marquis came to the army and was confirmed as leader of the army. All the barons swore allegiance to him. The marquis and all the barons swore to the Venetians that they would remain in support of them for one year. While this was happening, the ships were prepared and loaded. There were 40 ships, 62 galleys, and 100 transports.

The fleet began to move out on the Kalends of October.⁴² As they left the harbor, Lord Stephen of Perche's ship, *Viola*, was lost. The Venetians, in company with the pilgrims, made their way across the sea and arrived in Istria.⁴³ They forced

³⁴ Today known as the Lido.

³⁵ 1 June to 1 October 1202.

³⁶ About a pint.

³⁷ Two and a half pounds—probably over a month's income for a Venetian middle class family.

³⁸ In southern Italy.

³⁹ 22 July 1202.

⁴⁰ Letters certifying that they were released from their sacred crusade vows. Without such certification, they were liable to excommunication. The contrast is striking between these people, who were legitimately dispensed from their vows, and those who were the cause of the crusade vows being broken at Zara.

⁴¹ 15 August 1202.

⁴² 1 October. The *GeH* agrees with this date. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:76-78, sec. 76, states that they sailed within the octave of the feast of Saint Remi, or 1-8 October. The fleet probably sailed out piecemeal, or at least in two squadrons.

⁴³ A northeastern Adriatic peninsula.

Trieste⁴⁴ and Mugla⁴⁵ into submission; they compelled all of Istria, Dalmatia,⁴⁶ and Slavonia⁴⁷ to pay tribute. They sailed into Zara, where their oath came to naught.⁴⁸ On the feast of Saint Martin⁴⁹ they entered Zara's harbor. They besieged Zara from every side, both on land and water. They erected more than 150 machines and mangonels, as well as ladders, wooden towers, and numerous instruments of war. They also undermined the wall. After the citizens of Zara saw this, they surrendered the city on the fifteenth day, with the result that, saving only their persons, they placed everything they owned in the possession of the doge of Venice. The doge reserved half of the town for himself and his own people; the other half he gave to the pilgrims.⁵⁰ They looted the city without mercy.

On the third day following entry into Zara, a quarrel arose between the Venetians and the pilgrims, in which almost one hundred people were killed. The barons kept the city's goods for themselves, giving nothing to the poor. The poor labored mightily in poverty and hunger. Consequently, when they complained greatly about the barons, they managed to get ships to ferry them to Ancona,⁵¹ and one thousand departed with leave and, in addition, more than a thousand without leave (For there was an order that no one dare to release anyone from the army). Out of the transports ferrying them, two were lost. The army wintered over in Zara. The Vene-

⁴⁴ The greatest of Istria's port cities.

⁴⁵ Also known as Muggia.

⁴⁶ The middle region of the eastern Adriatic coast.

⁴⁷ The northeast coastal region of the Adriatic.

⁴⁸ A reference to their violating their crusade oath – if one accepts my alteration of the manuscript text. The MS reads, *“Iaderam navigaverunt, in qua iumentum perit.”* This translates as, “They sailed into Zara, where the *Workhorse* (*iumentum*) was lost. If one accepts this reading, then presumably the *Workhorse* was a ship that sank or foundered. In my edition of the Latin text, I accepted the emendation of Charles Hopf, *Chronique*, 87, who suggested that *iumentum* was an erroneous transcription for *iuramentum* (vow): Andrea, *“Devastatio,”* 132. Earlier, when the author of the *DC* had noted the loss of the *Viola*, he had written, *“Viola navis...perit.”* Here the identifying noun *navis* (ship) is missing. Partially for this reason, but much more so because it seems consonant with the *DC*'s central theme of contracts and their violation, I opted for Hopf's suggestion. Queller and Madden, *FC*², 243, note 97, disagree, noting that “Emending a manuscript ought to be done only for a compelling reason, which we think is lacking here.

⁴⁹ 11 November 1202.

⁵⁰ Venice claimed Zara as rebel Venetian territory. Notwithstanding this claim, the Venetians gave the crusaders the interior portion of the city for their use (and presumable plunder) while they retained the harbor: *FC*², 77.

⁵¹ A port city on Italy's Adriatic coast.

tians so completely razed the walls and houses of the city that not one stone remained on another. While the ships were in the harbor at Zara, three of the great vessels were lost.

On the feast of the Circumcision,⁵² a messenger arrived from King Philip⁵³ bearing a letter from him requesting that the marquis and the barons assist his brother-in-law, Emperor Alexius,⁵⁴ in his affairs. The marquis, along with all the barons, swore allegiance to him. When the rank and file learned of this, namely that they were to travel to Greece, they gathered together and, after having made a compact, swore they would never go there. As a consequence, the abbot of Vaux, Lord Simon de Montfort, and Enguerrand of Boves left with a large multitude of knights and others, and upon arriving in Hungary, they were honorably received by the king.⁵⁵ On Palm Sunday,⁵⁶ Rainal of Montmirail⁵⁷ was sent to Syria on a legation. On the second Sunday after Easter,⁵⁸ the ships began to depart from Zara. At this same time Emperor Alexius arrived from Swabia. All the towns, cities, and castles from Ragusa⁵⁹ to Corfu⁶⁰ received him in peace. The army rendezvoused at Corfu. On Pentecost⁶¹ it withdrew from Corfu (where Baldwin, the brother of the count of Flanders died)⁶² and arrived at Constantinople without mishap, and all the islands along the way became subject to it.

On the Kalends of July⁶³ the ships arrived at Constantinople and landed by force, since the emperor opposed them with his entire army. The emperor fled into the city with his forces; we besieged the city. During the octave of the feast of the Apostles Peter and

⁵² 1 January 1203.

⁵³ Philip of Swabia, who claimed the crown of Germany since 1198. See the opening lines of the *DC*.

⁵⁴ Actually Prince Alexius. Philip was married to Irene, sister of Alexius and daughter of the deposed emperor, Isaac II.

⁵⁵ See the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol to R. de Balues, as well as the M/D version.

⁵⁶ 30 March 1203.

⁵⁷ See note 201 to the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol.

⁵⁸ 20 April 1203.

⁵⁹ Today the Croatian city of Dubrovnik.

⁶⁰ Today known as the island of Kérkira, it is located off of the coasts of southern Albania and northwest Greece.

⁶¹ 25 May 1203.

⁶² Count Baldwin had no such brother, and no brother of his died on the crusade. See note 18 above.

⁶³ 1 July 1203.

Paul,⁶⁴ we took by force a stronghold located in the harbor opposite the city,⁶⁵ and scarcely any of those who were in the stronghold escaped. The pilgrims besieged the city on the landward side. Many times the Greeks clashed with them, and many fell slain on both sides. Meanwhile the Venetians harassed the city from the seaward side with their machines, mangonels, crossbows, and bows. In this engagement, as well, many died Venetian and Greek alike. Then the Venetians erected wondrous ladders on their ships, one to a ship, and steering their ships up to the wall, they entered the city by way of these same ladders. They routed the Greeks and set a fire, and they burned and ruined a large part of the city, and so they spent that whole day.⁶⁶ With the coming of night, the emperor gathered together everyone he could get and secretly fled. On the following day, the Greeks surrendered themselves and the city into the hands of the pilgrims.

Once the gates were thrown open, the pilgrims entered the city, and when they arrived inside the royal palace which is called the Blachernae, they discovered Lord Isaac shackled in prison.⁶⁷ His brother had blinded him and placed him there. They set Lord Isaac free and placed a crown on his son, the boy Alexius.⁶⁸ In return for this great favor, Alexius swore he would feed the army Venetians as well as pilgrims for one full year. He also swore that, if they wished to winter over with him at Constantinople, the following March, after having assumed the Cross, he would continue the journey with them, along with all the materiel he could muster. He gave security for all of these promises. Thus was harmony effected between Greeks and Latins.

Within the octave of the Assumption of Blessed Mary,⁶⁹ however, a riot happened to break out between the Greeks and the Latins. Both sides flew to arms. The Greek mob grew, the Latins retreated, and since the Latins could not otherwise defend them-

⁶⁴ 29 June-6 July.

⁶⁵ The tower of Galata, situated across the harbor of the Golden Horn from Constantinople. See the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol.

⁶⁶ 17 July 1203.

⁶⁷ Not so. Isaac II had already been restored to the throne: *FC*², 130-132.

⁶⁸ Alexius IV was solemnly anointed co-emperor on 1 August 1203, the feast of Saint Peter in Chains. It is difficult to believe that this date was chosen randomly. Queller and Madden suggest that his coronation probably was the price the crusaders exacted for their withdrawal from the city: *FC*², 136.

⁶⁹ 15-22 August 1203.

selves, they set a fire. When they saw the fire, many members of the army came to the aid of the Latins, and they spread the fire and destroyed and gutted almost half of the city.⁷⁰ The army's barons stepped in and made peace again. Yet no one who might be from the Roman empire⁷¹ stayed behind in the city, not even they who had lived there every day of their lives.⁷² And one army was fashioned from all.

Meanwhile the new emperor Alexius decided to give chase to his uncle, whom he had caused to flee the city, and he assembled a large force of Greeks. He also offered substantial bonuses and money to our army's knights and infantrymen for coming with him. Indeed, the marquis himself accompanied him and Lord Henry, brother of the count of Flanders. And so they arrived at Adrianople.⁷³ Since, however, the emperor failed to pay what he had promised Lord Henry, Henry immediately left him, returned to the army, and brought back with him many of its knights and foot soldiers. The marquis, along with a few Christians, remained with the emperor. And so the emperor, accompanied by his Greeks and the same Latins who had remained with the emperor, traveled all around Greece and was universally received and approved by all the Greeks, and all of the leaders of Greece paid him homage. Eventually the emperor returned to Constantinople with his entire army and was received with great ceremony, and he began to pay off the pilgrims and the Venetians with the things he had promised both foodstuffs and gold and silver.

It happened, however, on the Monday after "*Ad te levavi*"⁷⁴ that within Constantinople the Greeks were again involved in sedition

⁷⁰ This conflagration, the second of three set by the crusaders, took place on 19-20 August and rates as one of the most destructive moments in Constantinople's history. Madden, "Fires," 74-84, computes that 450 acres of the city's most opulent and congested areas were reduced to ashes and rubble.

⁷¹ I.e. a West European. This is a curious way of referring to Christians from the West, especially since most of the crusaders were either Venetian or French, and neither of those groups was subject to the authority of the Western emperor. This is one of many clues that lead me to conclude that the author was a German: "*Devastatio*," 118-119.

⁷² Largely resident merchants from the West, especially Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans. These major seafaring powers of Italy had their own quarters in Constantinople's harbor area. Villehardouin estimated that about 15,000 such resident aliens took refuge with the crusaders: *Conquête*, 1:210, sec. 204.

⁷³ Modern Edirne in Thrace, where Alexius III had set up a rival court.

⁷⁴ The entrance antiphone sung at Mass on 1 December 1203.

against the Latins. The Greeks mobbed together. They attacked the Latins, sometimes causing them to flee, at other times themselves fleeing. The Latin army's barons were dismayed by this calamity. They prohibited anyone from crossing over to aid those who had so rashly taken up arms against the Greeks. Consequently the Greek mob grew in size. They pressed upon the Latins. Those whom they captured they killed without mercy and burned their corpses. They spared neither age nor gender. Now frenzied by this, the Greeks again provoked the Latins and attacked the Latin ships with their own boats and small craft. The pilgrims and Venetians, annoyed by that, armed their galleys and barques and attacked the Greeks. The Greeks fled. The Latins chased the Greeks right up to the city wall. They cut many down; they captured many Greek ships in the harbor, which were laden with large quantities of merchandise and food. On the feast day of Saint John the Evangelist,⁷⁵ the pilgrims and Venetians again armed their galleys and barques, and at daybreak were already in the harbor at Constantinople, and again they captured many ships. Once again many were killed from this point onward. In the evening of the feast day of the Lord's Circumcision,⁷⁶ the Greeks assembled fifteen of their own ships and filled them with bundles of wood, pitch, and oil and set them on fire. They steered them, so burning, straight toward the Venetian ships, in order to set them on fire. Only one ship caught fire. On the day following the feast of Epiphany,⁷⁷ Greeks came out of the city on horseback. The marquis met them with a few troops. Many of the Greeks were killed and certain rich men were captured. On the marquis's side two knights and a squire fell. During the entire time of this battle, the Venetians, along with the pilgrims, traversed each bank of the Brachii⁷⁸ in galleys and barques and brought back countless booty. They destroyed many buildings on each side with fire. The pilgrims went around the surrounding regions within a circumference of up to two days' journey. They took considerable booty; they captured people; they carried back with them herds and

⁷⁵ 27 December 1203.

⁷⁶ 1 January 1204.

⁷⁷ 7 January 1204.

⁷⁸ The peninsula arms of land on both sides of the Golden Horn; i.e. they sailed up and down both shores of Constantinople's harbor.

ocks and everything they could find and caused considerable loss to the Greeks.

When the Greeks saw this, namely that their land was being ruined, they seized their emperor and threw him back into prison, and they placed Morso us,⁷⁹ the author of this great treason, in charge over themselves and set him up as king in the Blachernae palace.⁸⁰ Meanwhile the common folk and the crowd at Sancta Sophia elected another king for themselves—Nicholas, surnamed Macellarius.⁸¹ Morso us assembled all of his followers, besieged him in the church of the Holy Wisdom,⁸² eventually captured and beheaded him, and began to rule alone.

Meanwhile, Lord Henry, brother of the count [of Flanders], accompanied by a large number of knights and footsoldiers, headed toward a certain castle called Philia,⁸³ captured it, and brought back from it large numbers of both human and material prizes of war. As he was returning, the aforementioned Morso us laid an ambush for him with 15,000 soldiers.⁸⁴ Closing in, Morso us fought him and was defeated, and many Greeks were killed. Morso us himself was wounded and barely escaped. He hid in the brambles and lost his horse and all his imperial symbols, namely his crown and lance and a certain icon of the glorious Virgin composed totally of gold and precious stones. By custom, it was always carried before the kings in battle. With this victory to his credit, Lord Henry returned to the army. Morso us also returned to the city during the night, and, hauling Emperor Alexius out of prison, he strangled him with a noose.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, the army prepared to attack the city, and all betook themselves and all their possessions to the ships, so that they could use the fleet to attack the city. On the Friday before Passion Sunday, which was the fourth day before the Ides of April,⁸⁶ they brought the ships up to the walls and launched an assault. Many were slain, both from our ranks as well as from those of the Greeks.

⁷⁹ Alexius "Mourtzouphlos" Ducas.

⁸⁰ Installed as Emperor Alexius V on 5 February 1204.

⁸¹ Nicholas Kannavos (Canabus).

⁸² Hagia (Sancta) Sophia.

⁸³ On the Black Sea near the entry to the Bosphorus.

⁸⁴ See Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronicle*, note 100.

⁸⁵ Alexius IV was murdered on the night of 8/9 February: *FC*², 169.

⁸⁶ 9 April 1204.

Because there was a contrary wind that kept driving us away from the walls, we retreated, entered the harbor where we had been earlier, and awaited the coming of the north wind. The north wind began to blow on the day before the Ides of April;⁸⁷ we again brought the ships up to the walls, struggled with the Greeks, and drove them from the walls. We entered the city and a tremendous slaughter of Greeks ensued. As for those who attacked and harassed us, we set a fire and drove them back from us with fire.⁸⁸ With the coming of night, Morosini led with a few followers.

On the following day,⁸⁹ all the Greeks fell at the feet of the marquis and surrendered themselves and all their possessions into his hands. Then we took possession of places for lodging, and Greeks emptied the city. We brought all our spoils and riches together, and we filled three large towers with silver. Then discussion began about selecting an emperor. Six were appointed from our side and six from the Venetian side, to whom was given the power of electing an emperor. They convened within the octave of Easter,⁹⁰ and, in the presence of our whole group and that of the Venetians, they elected and named Baldwin, count of Flanders, as emperor. He was approved by the army and on the following Sunday, the one on which *“Tubilate”* is sung,⁹¹ he was crowned. At the same time, the Venetians occupied the church of the Holy Wisdom, saying: “The empire is yours; we shall have the patriarchate.”⁹² A schism arose between our clergy and the Venetians.⁹³ Our clergy appealed and reserved to the lord pope the right of appointment to the church of the Holy Wisdom.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, they began to divide the common booty and to give, almost like certain downpayments, twenty marks to each and every knight, ten marks to each cleric and mounted man-at-arms, and five marks to each footsoldier.

⁸⁷ 12 April 1204.

⁸⁸ Madden estimates that this, the third fire set by the crusaders, burned about twenty-five acres: “Fires, 84-85.

⁸⁹ 13 April 1204.

⁹⁰ 25 April-2 May.

⁹¹ 16 May 1204.

⁹² See the March Pact in Reg. 7:205.

⁹³ The schism that the *DC* refers to was probably the disaffection among the lower clergy within the army who felt that the Venetians were denying them rightful access to their share of Constantinople’s many churches and other ecclesiastical treasures.

⁹⁴ See Reg. 7:203.

2. THE ANONYMOUS OF SOISSONS

One of the more overlooked sources for the Fourth Crusade is *Concerning the Land of Jerusalem and the Means by Which Relics Were Carried to This Church from the City of Constantinople* by an author known simply as the Anonymous of Soissons.¹ Preserved in a single manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,² this little text was, until 1992, available only in two flawed and hard-to-get nineteenth-century editions,³ which certainly contributed to the work's obscurity. The major reason for the general dismissal of this source, however, is the fact that, compared with such eyewitness accounts as the histories of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, it reveals very little about the political and military aspects of the crusade. This failure to dwell on such phenomena, however, is understandable in light of the author's intentions and worldview. Indeed, when we understand these, we understand how so many Western Christian clerics and laity could have justified the 1204 capture and sack of Christian Constantinople by a crusade army. This alone makes the Anonymous of Soissons' account an exceedingly important source for the Fourth Crusade.

All evidence points to a clerical author, probably a canon of Soissons cathedral, who undoubtedly received much of his information from Nivelon de Chérisy, bishop of Soissons (r. 1176-1207) and chief prelate of the army of the Fourth Crusade. Clearly, the account was composed after Bishop Nivelon returned from Con-

¹ Klimke, *Quellen*, did not think the work merited mention as one of the crusade's significant sources. Likewise, it was overlooked in the bibliographic survey of the crusade's primary sources in *FC*, 219-222.

² Fols. 211r-213v of MS Lat. 8898, *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis*.

³ The work was originally published in Alexander Poquet, ed. *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis* (Paris, 1856), 265-270. Two decades later, Paul Riant reprinted it in *Exuviae*, 1:3-9. Although he repeated most of Poquet's transcriptional errors, Riant made a small effort to print a more correct text. A new edition appeared in A. J. Andrea and Paul I. Rachlin, "Holy War," 157-163.

stantinople on 27 June 1205. Because the Anonymous treats Nivelon as still living, it is similarly likely that the author concluded his work before the bishop's death in Apulia on 13 September 1207 while on his way back to the East.⁴

By virtue of his rank and his family's history of involvement in projects to liberate Jerusalem,⁵ Nivelon played a key role in the Fourth Crusade. He was one of the first persons to enlist in the crusade, taking the cross in late 1199 or early 1200.⁶ Once in 1200 and twice in 1201, he hosted *parlements* of leading French nobles at Soissons in order to plan the upcoming crusade.⁷ At the last of these convocations he fastened the crusade cross on the shoulders of Marquis Boniface de Montferrat, the newly elected leader of the planned expedition.⁸ When the army sent a legation to Rome to seek absolution for its transgression at Zara, Bishop Nivelon naturally served as chief emissary.⁹ While Nivelon was in Rome, Pope Innocent III entrusted him with Reg. 5: 161 (162) and, more importantly, verbal messages for the army regarding the controversial issue of a second diversion of the crusade, this time to Constantinople. Knowing of the pope's clear prohibition of this adventure, Nivelon conspired with other crusade leaders to keep the rank and file ignorant of the pope's orders.¹⁰ On 11 April, the eve of the army's successful assault on Constantinople, Bishop Nivelon and other prominent clerics preached the message that the upcoming battle was just in the eyes of God because the Greeks were a schismatic and traitorous people.¹¹ The following day, his ship *Paradise* led the seaborne attack and was one of the first two vessels to reach Constantinople's harbor walls that fateful day.¹² Once the city was taken, Nivelon served as one of the twelve electors who chose Baldwin of Flanders as emperor, and it was Nivelon who announc-

⁴ A thirteenth-century obituary from the abbey of Notre-Dame: Poquet, *Rituale*, 312, note 24; *Gallia Christiana* (Paris, 1751), 9:365, dates his death as 14 September.

⁵ Nivelon's family had a long and distinguished history of involvement in Eastern affairs, and he had played an active role in organizing support for the Third Crusade: Faral, in Villehardouin, *Conquête* 1:45, note 5.

⁶ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:10, sec. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:14, 40, and 42-44, secs. 11, 40, and 43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:44, sec. 44.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:104-106, sec. 105.

¹⁰ Andrea, "Conrad," 28-39.

¹¹ Clari, *Conquête*, 71-72, sec. LXXIII.

¹² Villehardouin, *Conquête* 2:44, sec. 242.

ed the results of that election.¹³

For his many services, and as a token of the friendship he enjoyed with Boniface of Montferrat, Nivelon was named archbishop of Thessalonica in 1205 and was granted special papal license to remain simultaneously bishop of Soissons, until matters in the Latin empire were sorted out.¹⁴ As affairs turned sour in the East for the Latin conquerors of Constantinople, Nivelon was sent back to the West to seek reinforcements.¹⁵ There he died, laboring to return to Greece with the volunteers he had collected.

With such a background of involvement in the highest councils of crusade leadership, Nivelon would have been able to provide the Soissons author with a rich and full account of the crusade, but that is not what we have here. Rather, we are confronted with a religious document whose genre traditions and purposes are not readily apparent to the modern reader.

Put simply, *Concerning the Land of Jerusalem* is both a *translatio* and a theodicy. *Translationes* were documents composed to record, celebrate, and justify the translation, or relocation, of sacred relics to a new site of veneration. Theodicy, a form of historiography popular among medieval Christian clerics, especially those who wrote on the crusades, was the attempt to use history to prove or vindicate Divine Justice in the face of evil and human suffering.

The remains of saints possessed a powerful attraction for the medieval mind. Relics were not seen as inanimate objects. Rather, sacred relics mediated the power of God through the holy person whose remains were enclosed in a reliquary. It was believed that a saint, and even Christ Himself, watched over his relics, traveled with them, and protected those persons who legitimately possessed them. Therefore, the relocation of relics from one place to another was a major religious event performed with considerable ceremony. Many translations of relics provoked a written account—a *translatio*—which, by describing the circumstances of acquisition and reception, served to verify the relics' authenticity and to catalogue them for posterity.

While *translationes* do not conform to any single, rigid formula,

¹³ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:66, sec. 260; Clari, *Conquête*, 93, sec. XCV.

¹⁴ Letter of Innocent III to Nivelon of 10 December 1206: Reg. Vat. 7, a. IX, fol. 126, n. 199.

¹⁵ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:196, sec. 388.

they tend to follow a common pattern. Most accounts of relic translation include: a long and difficult search for the relics; great difficulties in transporting them; many miracles upon their discovery and disbursement; and a joyful popular reception in their new home.¹⁶ Complicating the *translatio* tradition was the fact that many relics were acquired through guile and outright thievery, a phenomenon known as *furtum sacrum* holy theft. Authors of such *translationes* defended these means as just by virtue of the time-honored arguments, either expressed or implied, that those from whom the relics were stolen were unworthy of them, and the theft itself was only possible with the consent and guidance of the saint whose relics were sought and acquired.¹⁷ The argument followed that God Himself, therefore, ultimately had a hand in this action: hence, *furtum sacrum*.

With the crusaders' capture of Constantinople, a flood of plundered sacred relics poured into the West. The marvelous wealth of relics in the Byzantine capital had already been known throughout the West for centuries. Consequently, it is not surprising that, when the city lay open to the crusaders, many of them sought a share of these sacred spoils. Despite a strict prohibition by the crusade's military and spiritual leaders against despoiling churches and monasteries,¹⁸ large numbers of laity and clergy robbed churches and brought back their sacred booty to the West. Three of these pious thieves were Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, Abbot Martin of Pairis, and Nivelon of Soissons, each of whom commissioned a *translatio* in order to catalogue and justify the considerable stash of powerful relics he brought back home.¹⁹

There can be no doubt that the relics Nivelon brought back from Constantinople were stolen. Robert of Clari provides an interesting list of the relics he viewed at the church of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos (lighthouse), immediately following the crusaders' capture of the city on 13 April 1204. Located among the complex of buildings that comprised the Bucoleon, or Great Palace, this church pos-

¹⁶ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages, 800-1100* (Princeton, 1978), 11-12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 132-157.

¹⁸ Ironically, the crusaders were forced to swear on holy relics that they would refrain from such acts: Clari, *Conquête*, 69, sec. LXVIII.

¹⁹ For Bishop Conrad, see below; for Abbot Martin of Pairis, see Gunther of Pairis's *HC*.

sessed the crown of thorns, the Virgin's robe, the head of John the Baptist, and two large pieces of the True Cross.²⁰ All four items appear in the catalogue of relics translated to the cathedral of Soissons. Following the Latin capture of the city, Boniface of Montferrat had seized the Bucoleon for himself in an unsuccessful bid to gain the imperial throne. Apparently, Bishop Nivelon used his friendship with Marquis Boniface to turn the palace church into one of his chief sources of holy plunder.²¹ Such thievery required artful justification, and it was the purpose of the Anonymous of Soissons to provide it.

Part of that justification was borrowed from the *translatio* tradition. Miracles attend the joyful reception of Constantinopolitan relics at Soissons. Each arrival of relic treasures becomes the occasion for the miraculous curing of scores of sick and afflicted. Conversely, those who are led astray by the Devil and refuse to honor these tokens of heavenly favor suffer for their foolishness, and their misfortunes become object lessons for all. In effect, these wondrous cures and disasters are sure signs of the will of God and those saints whose bones were carried to Soissons.

However, other aspects of the relic translation tradition seem to be missing. We might know that Nivelon stole these holy items, but there is no hint here of *furtum sacrum*. Unlike the *translationes* of Bishop Conrad and Abbot Martin,²² there is no mention whatsoever, truthful or otherwise, of how Bishop Nivelon acquired these relics. At first glance, there is also no long and hazardous search for these relics; one might even think they are treated as a post-conquest afterthought. But closer study of the text shows that this is not the case. The quest for holy relics is central to the theme and

²⁰ Clari, *Conquête*, 81-82, sec. LXXXII.

²¹ Among the many relics that Nivelon bestowed on the female abbey of Notre-Dame de Soissons were two pieces of the True Cross, a piece of the crown of thorns, and a piece of the *sindon* (grave cloth) of Jesus: Poquet, *Rituale*, 312, note 24. The church of Our Lady at the Great Palace had also boasted the *sindon* prior to the city's capture. Clari, *Conquête*, 90, sec. XCII, who mistakenly places the *sindon* in the church of the Blachernae, or New Palace, tells us that no one knew what became of this relic after the city was taken.

²² As we shall see below, Conrad of Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt, refused to acknowledge the larcenous manner in which he had acquired his sacred treasures and claimed they had been given him by Alexius IV. Gunther of Pairis, the historian who wrote of Abbot Martin's exploits, was more comfortable with the fact of pious thievery and composed an uproariously funny scene in which he described in detail his abbot's "sacred sacrilege": HC in Orth, 158-160 (Andrea, *Capture*, 109-111).

argument of Soissons' history, and it is a decades long search and struggle. One needs simply to understand that quest within the context of crusade history in order to find it running throughout this text.

As was true of all crusaders, Nivelon had taken a special vow of pilgrimage to travel to the Holy Land and to work toward its liberation. Although crusaders were either warriors or persons who assisted the fighters, they were also, in the eyes of the Church, legally and spiritually pilgrims. The point of most pilgrimages, of course, is the veneration of relics. In the case of the crusades, the entire Holy Land was a sacred relic and, among all of its hallowed places, the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was Christendom's most profoundly holy site. Held by Muslims since the seventh century, its liberation was the ultimate *furtum sacrum*.

Yet most members of the Fourth Crusade army never made it to the Holy Land. In what way, if at all, had they fulfilled their pilgrimage vows? Soissons provides an answer by placing the events of 1202-1204 into the context of over one hundred years of crusade history. His implied argument is that the conquest of Constantinople and the subsequent transfer of many sacred relics to the West was an acceptable, albeit incomplete, goal of the crusade quest. Indeed, his history's full title, *Concerning the Land of Jerusalem and the Means by Which Relics Were Carried to This Church from the City of Constantinople*, makes that connection clear.²³

There is a clearly recognizable struggle throughout the text between success and defeat, hope and despair, favor and penance, God and the Devil. This continual dialectic is played out in every sentence of the work's opening panorama of crusade history: The capture of Jerusalem in 1099 is offset by the loss of the Holy Cross at Hattin; the advance of Saladin is countered by Gregory VIII's call to battle; the bold march of Frederick and his huge army is thwarted "by the secret judgment of God" when Frederick drowns; the recovery of Acre, "by the pronouncement of divine favor," is clouded by the instigation of the Devil who sows discord between Philip and Richard, thereby prompting their return to the West and "leaving the work of God incomplete;" the challenge presented by

²³ The fifteenth-century scribe who penned the sole surviving manuscript of this history assumed this was the work's original title, and introduced both title and text with the note: "Manuscrit de MCCV."

the tragic deaths of Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne is met when the Holy Spirit inspires Nivelon and others to undertake the journey to Jerusalem. Along the way the army decides to assist Alexius the Younger because he promises substantial aid to the crusade. These promises prove empty but, "by the pronouncement of divine favor, the crusaders manage to capture Constantinople. Once again, however, this crusade victory proves to be incomplete. Like King Guy and the Latins at Hattin, Emperor Baldwin and numerous other crusaders are either captured or cut down at Adrianople "for the purgation of their sins. Yet not all is lost. Nivelon brings back in triumph a number of important relics, including two large pieces of the True Cross, a portion of which had been lost to Saladin in the opening lines of this history. Even then the Devil does not give up and induces some misguided persons to hold these relics in contempt. God, however, triumphs by visiting misfortune upon these folk and thereby inducing their penance. The story ends with the people of the diocese honoring and giving thanks for these sacred trophies of the crusade.

Lest his message be missed, the Anonymous of Soissons artfully employs parallel phrases to underscore the fact that the events of the Fourth Crusade must be understood within the context of the entire sacred history of the crusades—a history that is God's history and, therefore, just. The same Latin phrase "*iter aggressi sunt Iherosolimitanum*" (they undertook the journey to Jerusalem) is used for the Jerusalem journeys of the armies of both the Third and Fourth Crusades. When circumstances force a change in direction for the latter army, the phrase is slightly modified to "*iter aggressi sunt Constantinopolim*." The devastating loss at Hattin and the sudden loss of Emperor Baldwin are both suffered "*peccatis exigentibus*" (for the purgation of their sins). Both Acre and Constantinople fall to crusaders "*Dei annuente clementia*" (by the provident mercy of God).

The Anonymous of Soissons is remarkably successful at justifying the Fourth Crusade by imaginatively suggesting that the entire crusade was sanctioned by God, was undertaken by the crusaders in a Christian spirit of penance, and resulted in a partial but substantial victory for Christendom. Jerusalem had not yet been recovered, but genuine gains were made, and Christendom had been blessed for its efforts. The relics brought back by Nivelon were tokens of divine favor and a continuing source of blessing for those who served the Lord. In this respect, his vision stands in stark contrast to that of his

anonymous contemporary, the German cleric who composed the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*.

*Concerning the Land of Jerusalem and the Means by Which Relics Were
Carried to This Church from the City of Constantinople*

Through the mercy of God, in the eleventh hundred year less one of the Word made incarnate, the sacred city of Jerusalem and Antioch, along with the land adjoining them, came into the power of the Christian Franks after the Saracens had been driven out.²⁴ Later, for the purgation of their sins, in the year of the Word made incarnate 1187, the Christian army was defeated by the Saracens.²⁵ The king of Jerusalem²⁶ was captured, the Templars cut to pieces, the Hospitallers slain, and an entire mass of Christians was led into captivity, or put to flight hither and thither, or lay dead on the field from the swords of the impious. A portion even of the wood of the Holy Cross was lost in the war, which afterward, so we believe, was found neither by us nor by the Saracens.

At the same time, Saladin, commander and lord of the Saracens and Turks, violently occupied the sacred city of Jerusalem²⁷ and the whole land, except Tyre, Antioch, Tripoli, and a few other fortifications.²⁸ Upon hearing this news, the most holy pope, Gregory III,²⁹ announced to all the people the wretched turn of events through his own letter, which was sent throughout all Christendom, granting remission of all sins to all those who would resolve to undertake passage to Jerusalem and do battle against the enemies of Christ.³⁰

Then the emperor of Germany, Frederick by name,³¹ Philip,

²⁴ The crusaders captured Antioch on 3 June 1098 and Jerusalem on 15 July 1099.

²⁵ The battle of Hattin, 4 July 1187.

²⁶ Guy of Lusignan (r. 1186-1192).

²⁷ 2 October 1187.

²⁸ These included the strongholds of Beaufort, Chastel, Blanc, Krak des Chevaliers, Margab, and Tortosa.

²⁹ Actually Gregory VIII. The scribe wrote, "Gregorius Tercius," so it does not seem likely that he simply miscopied III for VIII. Since Gregory reigned less than two months—20 October to December 1187—and was succeeded by Clement III (r. 1187-1191), the author could easily have confused the pontifical numerals of two popes who had reigned almost twenty years earlier.

³⁰ The crusading bull *Audita tremendi* of 29 October 1187.

³¹ Frederick I, Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190).

king of France,³² and Richard, king of England,³³ with a very great multitude of nobles, knights, bishops, clerics, and even innumerable commoners, aroused by the unhappy stories and hoping to obtain for themselves, through the grace of God, pardon for their sins from the lord pope, undertook the journey to Jerusalem.

When, however, Emperor Frederick, with a multitude of almost 100,000 knights and commoners,³⁴ had crossed Hungary, Greece, the Arm of Saint George,³⁵ and the greatest part of the Turkish lands, had defeated the enemy in a variety of ways, and had almost arrived, through every danger, in safe territory, he chose to bathe in a certain river. By the secret judgment of God, he drowned therein.³⁶ Nearly all the men, nobles as well as horsemen and foot-soldiers, hungered for the abundance of provisions which they had been without for a long time. Upon acquiring them, they so used them beyond moderation that within fifteen days they perished. Nevertheless, the rest arrived before Acre in the Holy Land in the company of the son of the Emperor Frederick.³⁷

Moreover, Philip, the king of France, and Richard, the king of England, with a multitude of their nobles, as well as of horsemen and footsoldiers, landed before Acre by way of the sea.³⁸ They found Acre besieged now for almost three years by our people,³⁹

³² Philip II, Augustus (r. 1180-1223).

³³ Richard I, the Lionhearted (r. 1189-1199).

³⁴ Most medieval historians lacked a sense of the specificity of numbers. For them, 100,000 simply meant "many." Although the figure is a gross exaggeration of the actual number of participants, the imperial contingent of the Third Crusade was one of the largest and best organized crusade units ever to leave Europe for the Holy Land.

³⁵ The Bosphorus.

³⁶ The River Saleph near Seleucia on 10 June 1190. The sources differ: Some say he drowned while bathing; others state he was thrown from his horse into the rushing waters, or that he impatiently tried to swim across the river and was overcome by the current.

³⁷ Following Barbarossa's death, his son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, divided the army into three elements, one of which he led by sea to Antioch, arriving there on 21 June. A second unit traveled by sea to Tripoli, while a third division made its way overland to Antioch, where it rejoined Duke Frederick. The group traveling by land suffered heavy losses in the course of its trek, and when it finally reached Antioch, an epidemic struck it, devastating its already severely thinned ranks. Frederick and the survivors eventually arrived at Acre in late October, where they proved ineffective. Sickness and death continued to plague this German army, and on 20 January 1191 Duke Frederick succumbed to disease.

³⁸ Philip arrived at Acre on 20 April 1191; Richard reached it around 7 June.

³⁹ The siege began in late August of 1189.

namely by Guy, the king of Jerusalem,⁴⁰ who, having yielded Ascalon, had ransomed himself from captivity,⁴¹ and also by Count Henry of Champagne,⁴² Andrew of Brienne,⁴³ James of Avesnes,⁴⁴ and many other nobles. By the pronouncement of divine favor, within three months they forcibly returned it in valiant combat to Christian jurisdiction,⁴⁵ seizing all the Turks and Saracens who were therein, along with their goods.

Meanwhile, by the instigation of the devil, grave discord arose among the kings,⁴⁶ through which the work of God was wholly impeded. On this occasion the aforementioned kings, leaving the work of God incomplete, returned home,⁴⁷ while Count Henry and the marquis of Montferrat⁴⁸ and many nobles, along with a majority of their people, remained behind there.

Then after the death of the marquis⁴⁹ and of Count Henry,⁵⁰

⁴⁰ Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem by virtue of his 1186 marriage to Sibyl, heiress of Amalric I (r. 1163-1174). After Sibyl's death in 1190, Guy's claim on the crown weakened considerably, and in 1192 he was deposed in favor of Conrad of Montferrat.

⁴¹ King Guy, captured at Hattin, negotiated the surrender of Ascalon to Saladin, in return for his release. The city was handed over on 4 September 1187, but Guy was not released until the spring of 1188, and then only after he had sworn to leave Palestine. Following his release, Guy repudiated his oath.

⁴² Henry II, count of Champagne and count-palatine of Troyes, nephew of both Richard I of England and Philip II of France, and future husband of Queen Isabella of Jerusalem, was probably the most powerful feudal baron of France in his day. His arrival in late July of 1190 forced Saladin to withdraw the main body of his forces from the area.

⁴³ Andrew, lord of Ramerupt and brother of Erard, count of Brienne, seems to have arrived in the Holy Land in September 1189. He was killed at Acre on 4 October 1189, which means he had already been dead for a year and a half.

⁴⁴ James of Avesnes seems to have arrived at Acre in autumn 1189 and fell at the battle of Arsuf on 7 September 1191.

⁴⁵ The city capitulated on 12 July 1191, a little over three months after King Philip's arrival and slightly more than a month after King Richard's appearance on the scene.

⁴⁶ These open quarrels, especially between Richard and Philip, are amply attested to by the Western sources.

⁴⁷ Philip sailed for Tyre on 31 July 1191, the first leg of his homeward journey; Richard remained an additional year, finally setting sail from Acre on 9 October 1192.

⁴⁸ Conrad of Montferrat, a north Italian nobleman and older brother of Boniface of Montferrat, had led the successful defense of Tyre against Saladin's onslaught of 1187-1188. Until his death in 1192, he was King Guy's greatest rival in a struggle for control of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

⁴⁹ Conrad of Montferrat, for a short time king of Jerusalem in 1192 by virtue of his 1190 marriage to Isabella, younger daughter of the late King Amalric I, was killed by two Assassins on 28 April 1192. Some contemporaries believed they saw the hands of the former King Guy or his supporter King Richard of England in this murder.

⁵⁰ In 1192 Henry married Isabella, queen of Jerusalem and Conrad of Montferrat's widow, and assumed the title "lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem." Henry died on 10

Lord Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, Baldwin, count of Flanders, Louis of Chartres,⁵¹ Bishop Garnier of Troyes, and many other nobles, along with a great multitude of commoners, inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit in the year of the Word made incarnate 1202, through the preaching of Lord Fulk, a virtuous priest from the village called Neuilly in the diocese of Paris, undertook the journey to Jerusalem.

Upon their arrival at Venice, the Venetians demanded from them excessive charges, both expenses and a profit for their ships. For nearly three months⁵² they were neither able to board the ships nor return home, since they were on the isle of Saint Nicholas. From there, with their supplies almost consumed, our men were compelled by the Venetians to sail across the sea against the inhabitants of Zara, who were the enemies of Venice. Here they found a certain son of the emperor of Constantinople, Alexius by name, who had hidden in these parts⁵³ after being put to flight from the royal city by his own uncle, after his father, the emperor, was both deprived of his sight and imprisoned in jail. This man, seeing the multitude of our people, humbly sought assistance from them, promising and confirming with every manner of pledge that, if they returned the entire empire to him, he would undertake the journey to Jerusalem, after first giving them sufficient compensation. He would serve in person as a soldier for three years, personally meeting his own expenses, those of his men, and ours. Once our men accepted this agreement, they set out for Constantinople.

Within a few days of their arrival, they entered the royal city, namely Constantinople, by force. They raised the aforementioned Alexius to his father's empire and, with his aforementioned uncle put to flight, they brought it about that he was received by all the Greeks in peace. For some time he held our men in favor and honored them with many gifts. Finally, having been deceived by the advice of the Greeks and of his own father, who was blind in both

September 1197 following a fall from a tower window in Acre.

⁵¹ Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, better known as Louis of Blois.

⁵² Essentially July, August, and September of 1202.

⁵³ The young Alexius was at the court of his brother-in-law, Philip of Swabia, and was not hiding at Zara. Philip dispatched envoys to the army at Zara requesting that the crusaders assist the Greek prince in regaining his patrimony. Following the crusade leadership's acceptance of this proposal, Alexius traveled to Zara, arriving there on 25 April 1203.

eyes, he refused to fulfill his commitment to journey to Jerusalem which he had promised, pledged, and confirmed by sacred oath. On this occasion, our men, having been shut out of the royal city,⁵⁴ tarried between the city and the sea, with the Greeks threatening them with death both day and night.

Meanwhile discord arose between Emperor Alexius and the Greeks. On this account, when they had discovered that he wished to return to the counsel of our men,⁵⁵ they strangled him on a certain night,⁵⁶ and at midnight, with trumpets and a clamor, they suddenly and violently attacked our men, who were positioned in a strong body outside the city. But God, looking out from on high, had pity on the toil of our men and kept them safe that night, while quite a few from the ranks of their adversaries were killed.⁵⁷

Perceiving that they were neither able to enter the sea without danger of immediate death nor delay longer on land because of their impending exhaustion of food and supplies, our men reached a decision. Having purged their consciences by tears and confession and having received with one will and heart the body of the Lord, at the break of dawn they attacked the city manfully.⁵⁸ Yet on that day they accomplished nothing.

On a second day,⁵⁹ however, after they had erected siege-engines on the ships and had raised them above the walls of the city, by the pronouncement of divine favor, a certain soldier, Andrew Dureboise by name,⁶⁰ from the retinue of Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, leapt from the siege-engines onto the walls.⁶¹ John of Choisy fol-

⁵⁴ On 19 July 1203 the crusaders, at the request of Isaac and Alexius, agreed to withdraw from Constantinople and encamped at Estanor across the harbor. From there they continued to visit Constantinople and even managed to burn down a portion of the city toward the latter part of August when some crusaders became embroiled in a fight with a group of Muslims and the Byzantine citizens who rushed to their neighbors' defense: See note 70 accompanying the *DC*. This and other incidents poisoned Latin-Greek relations, and by late November or early December the crusaders found the gates of the city closed to them.

⁵⁵ He made overtures to the crusaders on 28 January 1204.

⁵⁶ 8 February 1204.

⁵⁷ No other source records an attack on the crusader camp on the night Alexius IV died. There were, however, many attacks on the crusaders during this period of hostilities.

⁵⁸ 9 April 1204.

⁵⁹ 12 April 1204.

⁶⁰ Longnon. *Compagnons*, 129.

⁶¹ Andrew Dureboise was the first member of the assault team to survive the daring leap onto the wall; a Venetian preceded him but was cut to pieces by the defenders.

lowed him,⁶² and many others manfully fought on the walls. Others positioned outside the ships broke open the gates, and so the entire multitude entered the royal city. They cut down some of the Greeks, others they scattered. They spared others who were willing to yield.

Then our men, by the provident mercy of God, having received the bond and fidelity of the Greeks, raised Baldwin, count of Flanders, as emperor. With the Greeks applauding, they had him crowned in the church of Sancta Sophia by Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, and the other bishops who were subject to the Roman Church.

Then the aforesaid venerable Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, not forgetful of his own church and wishing to exalt and honor it, dispatched through faithful messengers, along with a letter inscribed with his own seal, to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary and the holy martyrs Gervais and Protais:⁶³

The head of the most blessed Protomartyr Stephen;
The finger of the blessed Apostle Thomas which he
placed in the side of the Lord;
The crown of the head of the blessed Mark, the
Evangelist;
One thorn from the crown of the Lord;
A large part of the stately robe of the Blessed
Virgin Mary;
A portion of the towel with which the Lord girded
himself at the [Last] Supper.

To Saint Mary, where there are nuns:⁶⁴

The belt of the Blessed Mary.

⁶² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 129-130. These two members of Bishop Nivelon's retinue would both fall at the battle of Rousin in January 1206.

⁶³ The cathedral of Saints Gervais and Protais, also known as Notre-Dame-de-Soissons, was still under construction, having been begun in 1176 on land donated by Bishop Nivelon.

⁶⁴ The female Benedictine abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Soissons, whose abbess was Bishop Nivelon's niece Helvide. Following Nivelon's death in Apulia on 13 September 1207, someone at this monastery composed a brief obituary of the bishop, along with a long list of relics that he brought back from Constantinople and gave the abbey: Poquet, *Rituale*, 312, n. 24. In addition to the Virgin's belt, they included two other articles associated with Mary—a piece of her bed and a portion of Jesus's swaddling clothes.

To Saint John:⁶⁵

The forearm of that same John the Baptist.

When these holy relics, having come down from the mountain of Maquerel,⁶⁶ were venerably received by the entire [secular] clergy, monks, nuns, and people and deposited in the cathedral church, many out of the scores of weak, in firm, and sick were cured on that very day and weekly [thereafter] in the mother church of Soissons. Among them was a certain blind man from Arcis⁶⁷ of substantially advanced years, who had lost his sight many years earlier. Immediately he was restored to sight.

Afterwards, following the rolling by of a little time,⁶⁸ when, for the purgation of their sins, the emperor was either captured or cut down in a certain battle and many others with him,⁶⁹ the survivors from France, eager for aid, sent Lord Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, to petition aid from the Lord Pope and the Franks.⁷⁰ Arriving at his own church, he brought:

The head of the blessed John the Baptist;
 The head of the blessed Apostle Thomas;
 The crown of the head of the blessed Blaise with
 one of his ribs;

⁶⁵ The abbey of St-Jean-des-Vignes, founded in 1076 and a place of sanctuary for Thomas Becket.

⁶⁶ Probably a reference to Mount Machaerus, located near the Dead Sea in present-day Jordan. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18:116-119, identified this truncated volcanic cone as the site where Herod Antipas put John the Baptist to death. According to one tradition, Julian the Apostate destroyed the body of St John, save for his head and arm. These relics were carried to Alexandria and from there were brought to Constantinople. Soissons now claimed both relics, thanks to Bishop Nivelon. The abbey of Saint John had the arm, and the cathedral boasted it held the head.

⁶⁷ The MS reads: *de Atichiaco*. It seems likely that originally the text was *de Artichiaco*: "from Arcis [sur-Aube]."

⁶⁸ Less than a year; Emperor Baldwin was captured at the battle of Adrianople on 14 April 1205.

⁶⁹ Baldwin was captured and died in captivity.

⁷⁰ Following the disaster at Adrianople, the Frankish leaders in Constantinople, led by Baldwin's brother Henry, sent a legation westward, consisting of Bishop Nivelon, Nicholas of Mailly, and John Bliat, to request aid from Pope Innocent III and the people of Flanders and the Île-de-France.

Two large crucifixes made from the wood of the Lord;
 The staff of Moses;
 A part of the reed with which the Lord was beaten, and
 many other relics.

To the monastery of Blessed Mary:

The head of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus;
 One crucifix made from the wood of the Lord.

To Saint John:

The head of the blessed martyr James.

To Longpont:⁷¹

The head of the blessed Dionysius the Areopagite,⁷²
 with one crucifix made from the wood of the Lord.

Also he, as well as his companions, distributed large numbers of other relics throughout the parish churches and convents within the diocese of Soissons and large numbers outside.

Upon the arrival of these, many from among the scores of the weak, infirm, and sick were cured in the mother church of Soissons, through the intercession of the saints. These holy relics, accompanied by a great concourse of bishops, monks, nuns, [secular] clerics, knights, and [lay] people, both outsiders as well as locals, and preceded by the clergy with crucifixes and candelabras, were received outside the Crisie gate⁷³ behind Saint Lazarus and were borne in like manner into the cathedral church.

In the same year, although it was not usual for the translation of the blessed Thomas to be celebrated so solemnly, it was so decreed

⁷¹ The Cistercian monastery of Longpont, located several miles outside of Soissons.

⁷² This is the only relic listed by the Anonymous of Soissons that can be located today. Contained in a silver reliquary, it still resides at Longpont in the possession of the count of Montesquiou, proprietor of the defunct monastery's lands: letter of 4 July 1986 from M. Christian Gissingier, Conservateur des Antiquités et Objets d'Art, Département de l'Aisne, Laon, France to A. J. Andrea. The relic was especially precious insofar as Saint Dionysius was the patron of medieval France.

⁷³ The Crisie River, a small tributary of the Aisne, sweeps south of Soissons.

by the bishop and was solemnly performed and celebrated by the clergy throughout the whole diocese. In consequence, many persons, inspired by the spirit of the devil, objected.⁷⁴ Among these was a certain woman, driven insane with the loss of her sight and hearing. When she was led to the cathedral church, troubled as she was by various weaknesses, her neighbors and relatives prayed and made offerings for her, and she was healed on that very day.

On that same day a certain carpenter was fatally struck as soon as he picked up his tool because he began to do his work unmindful of the Church's precept. Nevertheless, his death was preceded by confession and amends for the evil of his labor. Many also in the city and from outside the city experienced such losses from their work, either corporally or in their affairs, that thereafter they dared nothing of the kind; rather, equally flocking together with the multitude of people at the church and giving thanks for things seen and heard, they established and made the day solemn by their throngs.

⁷⁴ To the fact that work was prohibited on this new feast day.

3. THE DEEDS OF THE BISHOPS OF HALBERSTADT

Germans played an important, albeit subsidiary, role in a crusade that was largely a northern French and Venetian undertaking and whose army was under the command of Boniface of Montferrat, a marquis from Italy's Piedmont.¹ Like the author of the *DC*, most of the crusade's German members, such as Count Berthold of Katzenellenbogen² and Abbot Martin of Pairis,³ came from the western lands of the Upper and Middle Rhine; the German east produced only one notable leader, Conrad of Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt in Saxony, the highest ranking German cleric to travel with the army, and the source for and central character within the Anonymous of Halberstadt's crusade story.⁴

Although Germans could not have formed more than ten percent of the crusade host, they produced three of the crusade's more valuable second-rank sources: the already-noted *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* and *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, as well as the Anonymous of Halberstadt's account. This last-mentioned work comprises a major portion of the final pages of the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstaden-sium* (hereafter *GeH*), or *The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt*.⁵

¹ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 242-250, deals with known crusaders from the empire's Germanic lands.

² We know almost nothing about Count Berthold's involvement in the crusade. He is mentioned in passing in Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:74 and 2:86, secs. 74 and 279; the *DC*; and possibly in Gunther of Pairis's *HC* (Orth, 154; Andrea, *Capture*, 105 and 170, note 211). Longnon, *Compagnons*, 244-245.

³ The hero of Gunther of Pairis's *HC*; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 249-250.

⁴ Andrea, "Conrad," 11-91, studies the life and career of this man before, during, and after his tenure as bishop of Halberstadt.

⁵ The *GeH* is edited by Ludwig Weiland in the MGH SS., 23:73-123. The portions translated here appear on pages 116-121. Paul Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:10-21, excerpted parts of the Anonymous's account, beginning with the rubric "The Pilgrimage to Greece" and continuing down through the description of the relics and other treasures that Conrad brought back to Halberstadt. Riant titled the excerpt *De peregrinatione in Greciam et adventu reliquiarum de Grecia libellus* (*The Little Book on the Pilgrimage to Greece and the Arrival of Relics from Greece*) and argued that this little book is complete in itself and should, therefore, be separated from the rest of the *GeH*: 1:lv. I disagree. This crusade account

The *GeH* traces the fortunes of the bishops of Halberstadt from 780 to 1209. The last quarter of the chronicle covers the troubled pontificates of Bishop Gardolf (r. 1193-1201) and his kinsman and successor Conrad of Krosigk (r. 1202-1208), and of the two, Bishop Conrad plays the larger role. Several pieces of evidence point to the inescapable conclusion that this last segment of the *GeH* that deals with Gardolf and Conrad was composed in or around 1209⁶ as a single entity by a single author and under the direction and possibly even the supervision of the retired Conrad of Krosigk. This evidence includes several glaring chronological errors regarding well-known events in the pontificate of Bishop Gardolf,⁷ the prominence of Bishop Conrad's role in these final pages, the overall apologetical nature of this segment of the *GeH*, insofar as it is a defense of Conrad's actions as bishop, and the abrupt manner in which the chronicle ends once Conrad has retired into a monastery and his successor has been chosen.

We know nothing about the anonymous chronicler whom Bishop Conrad had chosen to tell his story and that of his predecessor. All we can say is that, judging by his literary style, the author had benefited from a good education. It also appears likely that he was a cleric and was associated with the cathedral of Halberstadt. Whoever he was, the Anonymous of Halberstadt did not focus on the crusade *per se*. Rather, the crusade provided him with a convenient background against which to place his main characters—Bishop Conrad and the sacred relics he brought back from the East.

The major purpose of the anonymous chronicler's labors was to create an *apologia* for Bishop Conrad of Krosigk, who ended a troubled seven-year pontificate by seeking sanctuary in the Cistercian monastery of Sittichenbach, despite the refusal of two papal legates to grant him license to do so.⁸ As such, the unnamed author consistently and coherently develops the theme throughout his story that Bishop Conrad is a righteous individual whose acts of conscience often result in his unwarranted persecution.⁹

must be read in the context of the larger story of Conrad's entire pontificate, to which it is subordinated.

⁶ On this work's date of composition, see Andrea, "Conrad," 63, note 220, and "Cistercian," 32, note 124.

⁷ Andrea, "Conrad," 17, note 29, and 24-25, note 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-63.

⁹ Andrea, "Conrad," 63-69, and "Cistercian," 32-34.

A secondary purpose was to justify Bishop Conrad's translation of Constantinopolitan relics to his cathedral at Halberstadt and to catalogue the many new saintly patrons that the diocese had received by this extraordinary gift. Consequently, the chronicler assured his readers that Divine Providence showed its approval of this transfer of supernatural power from Constantinople to Halberstadt by showering the blessings of peace, concord, and plenty on the entire region. Moreover, the chronicler believed it necessary to show that because of his piety and service to God and the Church, the bishop deserved to be the vehicle through which these relics were brought in triumph to Halberstadt. The relics in this story serve as tokens of the favor that the good bishop had found in the sight of God.

Conrad's troubles and crusade adventures were rooted in events that antedated his elevation to the episcopate. Emperor Henry VI's unexpected death in 1197 had precipitated a crisis in Germany. Two dynastic rivals emerged as claimants to the royal crown of Germany and, thereby, designation as emperor-elect: Henry's brother Philip of Swabia of the house of Hohenstaufen and Otto of Brunswick from the Welf family. Bishop Gardolf of Halberstadt was a firm supporter of the Hohenstaufen cause, as was the rest of his family, including Conrad of Krosigk, who was then provost, or chief administrator, of the Halberstadt cathedral. Unfortunately, Pope Innocent III supported Otto's claim, and in early 1201 he dispatched Guy, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, to Germany to convince and, if need be, to force the many German clerics who favored Philip to shift allegiance to Otto. Gardolf refused to do so, and apparently began to travel to Rome to plead his case before the pope. Before he got very far on his journey, he died on 21 August 1201. Shortly thereafter Conrad was elected as his successor and was consecrated on 1 January 1202. This meant that Bishop Conrad now had to face Cardinal Guy. The result, as the Anonymous of Halberstadt tells us, was Conrad's excommunication by the papal legate and the bishop's decision to leave on crusade as a way of avoiding further injury. Out of that decision would be born the Anonymous of Halberstadt's special account of the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath.

Despite the clearly apologetical purposes behind this narrative, the Anonymous of Halberstadt's story of Bishop Conrad's exploits on the crusade is an important and largely trustworthy source. Its

author was generally well-informed and attempted to tell a fairly honest story, although he conveniently overlooked certain details that could embarrass Bishop Conrad. For example, the chronicler fails to mention that Pope Innocent III specifically forbade the crusaders encamped at Zara from proceeding to Constantinople. The chronicler also speeds over all of the dramatized events that took place in Constantinople between June 1203 and April 1204 in a single unwieldy and rather vague sentence. His lame excuse for doing so is that it would not be appropriate to deal with all of these miraculous events in this short history, insofar as they deserve their own special essay. A truer reason might well be that he did not want to deal with the bloody capture and rapine of a Christian city and with the fact that Bishop Conrad had stolen those relics that he so piously enshrined in the cathedral at Halberstadt. None of these conveniently overlooked facts advanced his thesis of Conrad of Krosigk's essential righteousness.¹⁰ Notwithstanding this reluctance to show his bishop-hero in a bad light, the anonymous chronicler did not shy away from all controversial topics, and when he dealt with them, he did so fairly. Witness his sympathetic treatment of the pilgrims who withdrew from the army at Zara, even though their refusal to travel any farther with the Venetians stood in stark contrast to Bishop Conrad's own policy. Consider also his even-handed account of the debate on Corfu regarding the issue of papal primacy.

When the chronicler reports facts that can be checked by reference to another source, we find that his level of accuracy is high, and obvious errors are few. He does, however, mistakenly report that Marquis Boniface of Montferrat was signed with the Cross before the French crusade leaders had entered into their treaty with the Venetians, and he also erroneously reports that Boniface had taken part in negotiating that pact.¹¹ He also misinforms his readers when he notes that the Venetians promised to provide 30,000

¹⁰ See Andrea, "Conrad," 43-44, and 63-69, and "Cistercian," 32-39, for a fuller exposition of what the Halberstadt chronicler chose to put into and leave out of his crusade account.

¹¹ There is no independent evidence that places Marquis Boniface in Venice during the time in which this pact was being hammered out. Notwithstanding, as indicated in note 34 accompanying the translation, the six plenipotentiaries could easily have discussed the upcoming negotiations with Boniface as they journeyed through his lands on their way to Venice.

armed soldiers for the crusade host, and he incorrectly quotes the agreed price for Venice's services as 100,000 marks. The chronicler also twice misrepresents the manner in which the majority of the army's rank and file initially reacted to the proposition that it detour to Constantinople. He misnames the bishop of Troyes, referring to him as Henry rather than Garnier, and either the Anonymous or his scribe manages to confuse Alexius the Younger with his father, Emperor Isaac II. Although his dates for Conrad's adventures generally appear to be correct, there are, as the notes that accompany the translation indicate, several chronological slips, the most serious being his late date for the crusader evacuation of Zara. As the notes also indicate, the Anonymous's knowledge of eastern Mediterranean geography leaves much to be desired. Still, all of these slips and misstatements do little to compromise the essential value of this crusade account.

The worth of the *GeH*'s story of Bishop Conrad's exploits on the Fourth Crusade can be seen on several different levels. First, it provides a good deal of detail that would otherwise be lost to us, such as the stories relating to the army's voyage from Zara to Constantinople. Despite several chronological lapses, it also records some apparently reliable dates, such as the day on which Zara capitulated. Of all of the sources generated by members of the crusade army, it and Gunther of Pairis's *HC* give us the most reliable views of papal policy regarding the "transgression" at Zara and its immediate aftermath. In the *GeH*'s case, it accurately paraphrases two letters that the pope sent the army in 1203, indicating that Conrad had seen and remembered them clearly. Despite confusing Emperor Isaac and Prince Alexius and their relationships with King Philip of Swabia, the *GeH* is the only crusader source that correctly indicates that the army was traveling to Constantinople to restore Isaac to the throne and not his son Alexius. It is also the only crusade source to mention the battle at Corfu.

The greatest value, however, of the *GeH*'s story of Bishop Conrad's involvement in the Fourth Crusade does not lie in what it tells us about the political-military aspects of this endeavor because it is not especially concerned with the crusade as a military or political venture. The crusade was for Bishop Conrad, as undoubtedly it was for most participants, essentially a religious experience. As witness to the crusader-bishop's search for redemption in the eyes of both God and the Church, the *GeH* gives us privileged glimpses of what

Paul Alphandéry has termed the Fourth Crusade's "interior history."¹² By that Alphandéry meant the deepest emotions, beliefs, hopes, and fears that motivated the crusaders and formed their mental landscape. Of course, as already suggested, the *DC* and the Anonymous of Soissons' history serve the same role.

Modern stereotypes of the putative control that the medieval Roman papacy had on the lives and actions of individuals need revision in light of the *GeH*'s emphasis on the manner in which Bishop Conrad and others followed their consciences, despite countervailing papal pressures. Consider Conrad of Krosigk's rather surprising reason for assuming the crusade Cross. "Judging it wiser to fall into the hands of God than into human hands, Conrad became a crusader in order to counteract a ban of excommunication that had been laid on him because of his stubborn refusal to abandon the cause of Philip of Swabia. By ironically embracing a papal program—the crusade—Conrad hoped to protect himself from the spiritual, ecclesiastical, and social penalties associated with papal excommunication. Again, when finally confronted by Pope Innocent III in Rome in 1205, Conrad remained firm in his conscientious refusal to renounce his oath of loyalty to King Philip, "preferring to incur the stigma of disobedience rather than an indictment for perjury. In like manner, quite a few crusaders abandoned the army at Zara in order to make their separate ways to the Holy Land because of their disagreement with the capture of Zara, despite the fact that "the Lord Pope would prefer to overlook whatever was unbecoming of them rather than have this pilgrimage campaign disintegrate.

Not surprisingly, the Church of Constantinople appears even more unwilling to bend to papal leadership in these pages. The *GeH*'s account of the luncheon on Corfu, when a Byzantine archbishop caustically noted that the only reason he could imagine for Rome's claim of papal primacy was that Roman soldiers had crucified Christ, points out the depth of the schism that separated the Churches of Rome and Constantinople in the early thirteenth century, despite the occasional attempts of well-meaning individuals to find common ground at such colloquia. Moreover, this incident also illustrates the fact that the issue of papal primacy was the core

¹² Paul Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, texte établi par Alphonse Dupront, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954 and 1959): 1:81, 186.

issue that divided these two Churches.

The prophecies uttered by Burchard of Halremont at Ragussa and by the unnamed philosopher at Tyre and Bishop Conrad's apparent belief in the validity of each clearly show that education and high social and ecclesiastical standing were no bars to one's consulting and believing in the predictions of soothsayers. The foretelling of Constantinople's capture and its subjugation to the crusader army might also be evidence that at least some crusaders sailed to Constantinople believing that the city's capture was a God-ordained certainty. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they understood this to mean anything other than that, in capturing the city, they would restore Emperor Isaac and Prince Alexius to their rightful places. The fact that the Anonymous of Halberstadt wrote in 1209 that the philosopher of Tyre revealed to Conrad "all the future events of his life" in 1204/1205 leads to an interesting question. To what extent were the bishop's subsequent actions, particularly his later retreat into a monastery, influenced by these predictions? We will never know.

This was a world in which the sacred and the secular intersected on many levels, and miracles were not unexpected. Bishop Conrad's visit to the church of the Virgin at Tortosa in order to be cured of quartan fever is one example of that. A more significant example of that belief is the bishop's translation of powerful relics to his cathedral church and the chronicler's pious assurances that these tokens of heavenly favor brought peace and prosperity to the region. The very saints whose relics now reposed in Halberstadt were defenders of the city, its environs and, indeed, all of Germany.¹³ As already noted, unless we understand the centrality of the cult of relics, we shall never understand the mindset of crusaders who focused on liberating the sacred relics of Jerusalem and particularly the Holy Sepulcher, a portion of which Bishop Conrad believed he had transported back to Halberstadt. The miraculous translation of so many tokens of heavenly patronage to Conrad's diocese meant that salvation, the ultimate goal of every crusader, became more attainable for all of Saxony.

¹³ This parallels Gunther of Pairis's claim that the relics Abbot Martin brought back to Pairis redounded to the praise and glory of God's name, the pious memory of the abbot, the perpetual felicity of Pairis, and the honor and delight of the entire German people: *HC* in Orth, 107 (Andrea, *Capture*, 65).

The Fourth Crusade ultimately failed to win back Jerusalem, but to Conrad's mind it was successful on several equally important levels. First of all, he had completed his pilgrimage and had comported himself well at Zara, Constantinople, and in the Holy Land. As a consequence, he had redeemed himself in the eyes of the papacy and, more importantly, had been accorded tangible tokens of divine favor. What is more, Jerusalem might remain unliberated, but the crusaders had ended the Greek schism and brought these Christians back to obedience to Rome, or so it was believed at this time. In that sense alone, the crusaders, and especially the crusade clergy, had "prevailed before God with mighty arms." As the letters that Pope Innocent III composed immediately after receiving news of the second capture of Constantinople reveal, the pope himself agreed with this judgment.

The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt

The bishop of Palestrina,¹⁴ a legate of the Apostolic See, directed his letter to Bishop Conrad, summoning him to Cologne within seven days, in order to submit there to the Apostolic injunction. Conrad, rightly offering the excuse that the trip was difficult and dangerous because of King Philip's enemies and the prescribed deadline was too soon,¹⁵ appealed directly to the Apostolic See. Notwithstanding this fact, the legate pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him and all of King Philip's supporters.¹⁶

Therefore, Lord Bishop Conrad, seeing for himself the danger that threatened his honor and his church, judged it wiser to fall into the hands of God than into human hands. So, on Palm Sunday,¹⁷ while delivering a sermon to the people as he was conducting an obligatory ritual service at Quedlinburg,¹⁸ he signed himself with the sign of the Cross in the service of Jesus Christ and for the relief

¹⁴ Guy, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina and former abbot of Cîteaux.

¹⁵ Cologne lies more than 300 kilometers to the west of Halberstadt, and much of that intervening territory was in the hands of supporters of Otto of Brunswick.

¹⁶ The appeal should have bought Conrad a temporary reprieve, but it did not. He was excommunicated, and Rome upheld Cardinal Guy's actions. Andrea, "Conrad, 20-22, provides details relating to this excommunication and appeal.

¹⁷ 7 April 1202.

¹⁸ A convent for women in the diocese of Halberstadt.

of the Holy Land. This immediately transformed the enormous joy of all who were present to melancholy desolation.

Surely it was Divine Goodness that miraculously provided him, who was unquestionably stripped of resources because of the campaign he had [recently] engaged in,¹⁹ with expense funds to support his pilgrimage. For Lord Albert, dean of the church of Magdeburg,²⁰ generously gave him 550 marks of silver.²¹ Consequently, after prudently settling, as time allowed, the affairs of his church, this bishop hurried along on his pilgrimage journey on the Kalends of May,²² in the year of Christ's Incarnation 1202, in the first year of his episcopal ordination.²³

As he traveled straight through Bohemia, the renowned Lord Ottokar, king of Bohemia,²⁴ and his brother, the margrave of Moravia,²⁵ received him with honor.²⁶ Providing him most abundantly with necessities, they had him escorted through their land. Moreover, he passed through the land of the illustrious prince, the duke

¹⁹ The bishop had recently undertaken a costly campaign against the castle of Schwanebeck as he battled rebels who supported the Welf cause.

²⁰ Magdeburg was the archbishopric to which Halberstadt was subordinate. There is some reason to conclude that its archbishop, Ludolf, a fervent supporter of the Hohenstaufen cause, had helped to orchestrate Conrad's election as bishop. Cardinal Guy had also laid a ban of excommunication on Archbishop Ludolf.

²¹ It is not clear whether this was a loan or a gift. It probably was a loan, insofar as this was a lordly amount of silver. A mark was a unit of weight, not a coin, that differed slightly from region to region. To get an idea of the purchasing power of a single mark, consider two facts: The entire order of Cîteaux, in the face of a tremendous amount of papal pressure, most reluctantly agreed to contribute 2,000 marks of silver in support of this same Fourth Crusade; the Treaty of Venice of 1201 established the rate of two marks on the standard of Cologne as the price for each crusader's passage across the sea and his provisions for an entire year.

²² 1 May. This date might not be correct. There exists a charter from Bishop Conrad to the monastery of Schöningen dated 14 May 1202. Was he still in Halberstadt on 14 May? It is possible that the document was drawn up on his instructions after he left on crusade: Andrea, "Conrad," 24-25.

²³ Conrad had been consecrated as a bishop on 1 January 1202.

²⁴ Ottokar I (r. 1198-1230), the monarch who transformed Bohemia into a European power by virtue of his ability to play one party against another in the struggles for succession to the crown of Germany and the imperial title. See note 26.

²⁵ Ladislav.

²⁶ Supporters of Philip of Swabia at the time, Ottokar and Ladislav later renounced the Hohenstaufen cause and joined the Welf camp. Upon changing sides, they invaded Conrad of Krosigk's lands in the summer of 1203, even though he was a crusader. Of course, one could argue that an excommunicated crusader did not merit the special legal and spiritual protections that the Church accorded the crusader's person, family, and possessions.

of Austria,²⁷ then the land of the bishop of Salzburg²⁸ and, after these regions, the land of the patriarch of Aquileia.²⁹ He also made moderate stop-overs with them and was treated most kindly by them in all matters. Finally, under the guidance of the Lord, he arrived in Venice on the Ides of August.³⁰ He found, indeed, such grace and favor in the eyes of the Venetians that they, looking upon him as though he were one of their own people, regarded him as if he were the father of their race and their own prince.

The chronicle shifts back momentarily to the continuing struggle between Welf and Hohenstaufen forces in Saxony.

Meanwhile, Lord Bishop Conrad, as was said, had arrived at Venice. There he encountered an abundant multitude of pilgrims but, because of a certain contract that they had made with the Venetians, their pilgrimage was delayed for a while. For those, then, who wish to know, I will succinctly reveal, as far as the brevity of this digest will permit, this pilgrimage's origin and course of events.

*The Pilgrimage to Greece*³¹

Lord Fulk, a venerable priest, took on the verbal work of preaching in the regions of Gaul. Signed with the Cross himself for the aid of the Holy Land, he equally signed many. The following noblemen of France were signed [with the Cross] for this journey: the bishops Lord Nivelon of Soissons and Lord Henry of Troyes,³² also Count

²⁷ Leopold VI, duke of Styria and Austria (r. 1194-1230), was one of the imperial electors who supported Philip of Swabia.

²⁸ Eberhard II (r. 1200-1246). As was true of all of Conrad's hosts on this journey, Eberhard was in the Hohenstaufen camp.

²⁹ Peregrinus II. The archbishop of Aquileia, a region of Friuli, Italy, claimed and exercised the title of patriarch from the sixth to the eighteenth century.

³⁰ 13 August 1202.

³¹ So titled by a rubric in the *GeH*'s fifteenth-century manuscript.

³² His name was Garnier, not Henry. This bishop of Troyes (r. 1193-1205), whom Pope Innocent had unsuccessfully attempted to convince not to go on crusade because

Thibaut of Champagne and Count Louis of Blois, along with his brother,³³ in addition Count Baldwin and his brother Henry from Flanders, also the count of Saint Pol and the count of Perche, as well as many other nobles and innumerable commoners. After discussing the issue, they sent their envoys to Venice, along with Lord Boniface, the marquis of Montferrat, who was likewise signed with the Cross.³⁴ These people entered into a pact with the Venetians, whereby the Venetians would provide sea passage for all the pilgrims, and for the course of a year would accommodate the army with 30,000 men-at-arms.³⁵ Promising them³⁶ 100,000 marks³⁷ for

of his advanced age, played a surprisingly active role in the crusade.

³³ Count Louis of Blois brought no brother with him on the crusade. Possibly he mistakes Count Geoffrey III of Perche, Louis's cousin (who is mentioned below), for his brother.

³⁴ The crusader leaders did not send Boniface of Montferrat to Venice. In 1200, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Blois sent six plenipotentiaries to Venice to negotiate a contract for passage to Alexandria. On their way south, they passed through Montferrat and probably visited with Boniface, but there is no evidence that he accompanied them to Venice. It is highly possible, however, that the French envoys discussed the upcoming negotiations with Boniface and received his advice on the matter. Whatever the case, the six envoys concluded the so-called Treaty of Venice in the spring of 1201 and then headed back in two groups. One group of four detoured to Genoa and Pisa; the other, consisting of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Alard Maquereau, passed again through the lands of Boniface on the way to the Mount Cenis Pass. Here the two legates probably again visited with the marquis and reported what had transpired. It was only in late June, after Count Thibaut's death, that Villehardouin suggested the name of Marquis Boniface as leader of the crusade, and Boniface accepted and assumed the Cross at Soissons in the late summer of 1201: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:14-44, secs. 18-44.

³⁵ Venice's entire able-bodied male population was probably a bit less than 30,000: *FC*², 17. So this is an unbelievable figure. Venice provided fifty war galleys at its own expense, in addition to the crews for all of the transport and support vessels. As we learn from the *DC* and Hugh of Saint Pol, a total of about 200 major vessels (excluding skiffs) arrived at Constantinople, including the fifty war galleys. One can quibble about the numbers of Venetians that set sail on the crusade, but it seems that they numbered probably closer to 9,000 than 30,000. Queller and Madden, *FC*², 222, note 64, and 238, note 27, are a bit unclear as to their estimate of Venetian numbers but seem to imply that Venice dispatched around 14,000 men. Such numbers would have been required for the original complement of 450 transports and fifty galleys that had been contracted for: *ibid.*, 17. But 200 vessels required far fewer sailors and marines than 500 vessels would have.

As Madden has pointed out in private correspondence, however, according to Villehardouin, many Venetians clamored to join the doge's ranks once he had sworn the Cross. This outpouring of religious enthusiasm could well have swelled the numbers of Venetians beyond the estimate of 9,000 sailors and marines that were necessary to man the fleet. This is a good point. Possibly these enthusiasts swelled the Venetian numbers by one or two thousand.

³⁶ The Venetians.

such service, they entered into a contract with sureties and a sworn pledge. When, therefore, the Venetians had magnificently equipped themselves at great expense and cost for this service, Lord Fulk, as well as the count of Champagne and the count of Perche, who had been the chief co-workers of this expedition, died.³⁷

Accordingly, on the appointed day when all the pilgrims should have assembled in Venice,³⁸ they were able to pay not even half of the debt owed the Venetians after all of their possessions wrought and unwrought silver, horses, and all their collected baggage were appraised.⁴⁰ Consequently, the Venetians hold them captive on the island of Saint Nicholas and will not permit them to leave until they pay the entire debt. Then after a good deal of heated debate on the subject by both sides,⁴¹ they finally reached the following decision. The Venetians, as they had agreed, would go with the pilgrims, and the pilgrims would aid the Venetians in revenging personal injuries, and whatever they might be able to gain as profit would be distributed equally between them.⁴² The remainder of the contractual debt would be paid to the Venetians out of the pilgrims' portion.

Notwithstanding, Lord Bishop Conrad, inasmuch as he had not been involved in the arrangements, sought the advice of Lord Peter Capuano, legate of the Apostolic See, about what he should do in such a situation. He⁴³ unequivocally replied that the lord pope would prefer to overlook whatever was unbecoming of them rather than have this pilgrimage campaign disintegrate, and he finally gave him the advice that in no way should he withdraw from the

³⁷ The agreed price was 85,000 marks.

³⁸ Thibaut died on 24 May 1201; Geoffrey of Perche died about the middle of April 1202, and Fulk died in May of 1202.

³⁹ The treaty stipulated that the fleet would be ready to sail on 29 June 1202, but the slow pace at which crusaders straggled into Venice and the fact that far fewer arrived than expected combined to delay departure for over three months.

⁴⁰ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:60-64, secs. 58-61, tells us that initially the assembled crusaders could not raise even half of the agreed fee. After the crusade barons added large amounts of their own wealth to the total, the crusade army was still 34,000 marks, or forty percent, short of what it owed Venice.

⁴¹ *Post multam igitur utriusque partis animadversionem* can also mean "Then after a good deal of ill-feeling on both sides." Apparently the author meant to convey both meanings.

⁴² The Treaty of Venice of 1201 had already made both parties equal partners in sharing all spoils.

⁴³ Cardinal Peter.

army. Rather, so far as the insolencies of these people were concerned, he should endure what he could.⁴⁴ Therefore, he bound himself to the army, as did also four abbots of the Cistercian order, whom the pope specially chose to lead the crusaders by word and example.⁴⁵

Accordingly, in the year of Christ's Incarnation 1202, on the Kalends of October,⁴⁶ the entire army took ship. Navigating under a favorable wind, they reached the harbor of the city of Zara on the vigil of the feast of Saint Martin.⁴⁷ Zara is surely an extremely rich city. The metropolis of Dalmatia and Croatia, it is situated on the sea. It is properly fortified with a first-class wall and exceedingly high towers. At one time it had been subjugated by the Venetians. After eventually shaking itself out from under their yoke, it had transferred itself to the jurisdiction of the king of Hungary. The Venetians bore this badly. Now finally given the opportunity, the Venetians forced capitulation, after having besieged it with the pilgrims' aid on every side, both by land and sea, even though a certain Apostolic letter appeared there, which forbade under threat of excommunication this being done. Consequently, on the feast day of Saint Chrysogonus,⁴⁸ whose body reposed in that very city, the city was occupied by the army, and spoils were distributed among its members. The city was also divided down the middle into two parts. The pilgrims lodged in one; the Venetians in the other.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Conrad's experience at Zara closely parallels that of Abbot Martin of Pairis. According to Gunther of Pairis, when Abbot Martin, horrified at the proposal to go to Zara, appealed to Cardinal Peter at Venice for permission to return to his monastery, the cardinal forbade him to abandon his pilgrimage and "also charged him and several other religious who were present there to stay with their comrades through every peril and to restrain them, insofar as it was possible, from shedding Christian blood": *HC* in Orth, 122-123 (Andrea, *Capture*, 78-79).

⁴⁵ In addition to Martin of Pairis, the Cistercian abbots at Venice in 1202 were Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, Simon of Loos, and the abbot of Cercanceaux, whose name is unknown. Other Cistercian abbots had sworn the Cross but were elsewhere as the army assembled in Venice. The abbots of Vaux-de-Cernay, Loos, and Cercanceaux surely had papal mandates (see Ralph of Coggeshall), but it seems unlikely that Abbot Martin had one: Andrea, *Capture*, 21-26.

⁴⁶ 1 October. The *DC* (above) agrees with this date.

⁴⁷ 10 November. The *DC* (above) states that the fleet entered the harbor on the feast of Saint Martin, or 11 November.

⁴⁸ 24 November.

⁴⁹ The Venetians naturally occupied the harbor-side half of the city. This division was not as amicable as the *GeH* implies. According to the *DC* (above) and Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:88-90, secs. 88-90, on the third day following the crusader entry into Zara, a fight broke out between the Venetians and the main body of the army in which almost

Some of the abbots, however, who were there called publicly for a withdrawal from the Venetians because of this deed and, taking quite a few pilgrims with them, they decamped in the direction of Hungary. They were well received and treated kindly by the king of Hungary. With his personal help they crossed the sea and happily fulfilled the vows of their pilgrimage.⁵⁰

To be sure, the pilgrims residing at Zara sent their envoys to Rome,⁵¹ who offered excuses for the pilgrims regarding the affair at Zara, alleging to the lord pope that necessity drove them to become involved with the Venetians. The pope sent the envoys back to the army,⁵² and he ordered it absolved from excommunication, once surety was given that it would obey Apostolic injunctions.⁵³ If, in truth, the Venetians should wish to consider the favor of absolution to be tri- ing, nonetheless it was permissible to communicate with them because, as long as the pilgrims dwelled in Venetian ships, it was as if they dwelled in their homes. The sentence of excommunication on the Venetians, inasmuch as it was laid on the heads of households, would not carry over to the pilgrim family, just as it would not carry over to their family.⁵⁴

And so, as the pilgrims were lingering throughout the winter in possession of Zara, the Most Serene King Philip, perceiving the distress of the same (they were destitute of goods; the bulk of the money still remained to be paid the Venetians, and the year was already slipping away in which the Venetians were obligated to serve them with their feet and army), prudently observed that it was very much a decision for the Holy Land if his father-in-law

one hundred persons were killed.

⁵⁰ We know of three abbots who left the army at Zara, two of whom traveled through the lands of the king of Hungary to reach the Holy Land. Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay and the abbot of Cercanceaux left with Simon of Montfort and reached Italy by way of Hungary. On reaching southern Italy, they sailed to the Holy Land: Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, 1:108-110. See also the *DC*, and Hugh of Saint Pol's letter (above). Abbot Martin of Pairis went to Rome, apparently reaching Italy by sea, where he tried unsuccessfully to obtain papal dispensation from his crusade vow. From Italy, Martin sailed to Acre: *HC* in Orth, 125 and 131 (Andrea, *Capture*. 80-81 and 85-86).

⁵¹ See Reg. 5:161 (162), notes 187-188.

⁵² Only three envoys returned to the army. Robert of Boves, who had opposed the attack on Zara, left the delegation and headed off to the Holy Land on his own.

⁵³ Reg. 5:161 (162).

⁵⁴ See Reg. 6:102 of June 1203. See also Andrea and Moore, "Date," 115-116, for a discussion of the *GeH*'s citation of this permission.

Alexius,⁵⁵ king of the Greeks, could, with their help, recover his kingdom, from which he had been violently ejected. Therefore, sending his messengers to the army, he revealed to them the thrust of his plan: If they reinstated his father-in-law in the kingdom, he personally promised that he⁵⁶ would give them 200,000 marks and would supply the pilgrims with sea transportation and foodstuffs for a year. They, perceiving it profitable for the army in no small way, because of the already-mentioned reasons, swayed partly by prayers, partly by price,⁵⁷ uniformly accepted this deal.⁵⁸ Immediately they sent the aforementioned messengers back for the young man, namely the brother-in-law of King Philip.⁵⁹

Then when sailing time had arrived on the Ides of May,⁶⁰ following the evacuation of all the pilgrims from the city, the Venetians utterly destroyed it, including its walls and towers, palaces too, and all its buildings. So, after the majority of the pilgrims had gone on ahead and were waiting on the island of Corfu, the already mentioned young man, arriving at Zara on the feast day of Saint Mark,⁶¹ was received with a celebration of unmeasurable festivity by the Venetians who were still there,⁶² and reaching the army on

⁵⁵ The text erroneously reads *Alexius*, rather than *Isaac*.

⁵⁶ The pronoun refers to the "father-in-law" Alexius, not Philip. Actually, Philip's brother-in-law, Alexius the Younger, made these promises to the army's leaders, not Emperor Isaac, who was in prison in Constantinople. However, according to Nicetas Choniates, the imprisoned Emperor Isaac had earlier sent letters to his daughter Irene, Philip's wife, urging revenge for his deposition: *Historia*, 536 (Magoulias, *O City*, 294).

⁵⁷ *Tum precibus tum precio*: a nice rhetorical flourish.

⁵⁸ Wrong. Cf. Hugh of Saint Pol and the *DC*. Of course, as the M/D version of Count Hugh's letter informs us, Bishop Conrad was one of the handful of supporters in favor of this proposition. See also the *Chronicle* of Alberic of Trois Fontaines (below) and Andrea, "Conrad," 35-38.

⁵⁹ The author (or scribe) finally gets it right when he uses the word *sororius* (brother-in-law) rather than *socer* (father-in-law), which was used earlier.

⁶⁰ 15 May 1203. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:110, sec. 108, informs us that on Easter Monday, or 7 April, the crusader army encamped close to the harbor while the Venetians razed the city. Soon thereafter the ships got underway. The *DC* (above) notes that the ships began to depart from Zara on 20 April. Given this evidence, we cannot accept the late date of 15 May. Faral, the editor of Villehardouin, believes the *GeH*'s text should read the Ides of April (13 April): *Conquête*, 1:111, note 2. Yet, as he also points out, even the Ides of April is too late to allow the Venetians to dismantle the city and still sail on 20 April, the date supplied by the highly reliable *DC*. Therefore, Faral concludes that the *GeH*'s author means the period of the Ides of April, or 6-13 April. The editor of the *GeH*, L. Weiland, has "corrected" the text to read Ides of March, or 15 March: MGH SS, 118. I prefer Faral's theory.

⁶¹ 25 April 1203.

⁶² Because Saint Mark was the patron saint of Venice, this normally would have

Corfu during Pentecost week,⁶³ he was also eagerly accepted by them.⁶⁴

Moreover, while the army was tarrying on Corfu, the archbishop of that very city invited some of the army's prelates to luncheon. As they debated among themselves and especially disagreed over the issue of the primacy of the Roman See, that same archbishop said he knew of no other basis for the Roman See's primacy or preference other than the fact that Roman soldiers had crucified Christ. In fact, the citizens of that very city, hearing that the aforementioned youth, the heir of the king of the Greeks, had come, used war machines and petraries to compel the pilgrims to withdraw from the harbor. Consequently, the army left, once the island had been completely devastated by Alexius's authority.⁶⁵

Then while passing by the city of Ragusa,⁶⁶ a certain hermit was introduced there to Lord Bishop Conrad. He was said to have been Count Burchard of Halremont,⁶⁷ and he foretold the capture of the city of Constantinople and the subjugation of the same to the pilgrim army. From there, leaving behind the region around Mallea,⁶⁸ Durazzo,⁶⁹ and Methóni,⁷⁰ also the sea islands of Paros, Starea,⁷¹ Delos, Cyclades,⁷² and Andros,⁷³ and also Cape Sigeum and,

been a day of festivity anyway. Alexius's arrival on this date, possibly planned because of its meaning to the Venetians, would have seemed a good omen to many.

⁶³ 25 May-2 June 1203.

⁶⁴ Not so. There was still substantial resistance on the part of the rank and file to the proposal that the army detour to Constantinople: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:116-120, secs. 113-117; Clari, *Conquête*, 32 and 40, secs. XXXIII and XXXIX; and the letter of Count Hugh of Saint Pol (above).

⁶⁵ The island was a possession of the Byzantine empire, hence Alexius's permission was theoretically needed if the crusaders were to justify the combat. All other sources fail to mention this skirmish, and Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 541 (Magoulias, *O City*, 297) notes that the Latins left Corfu, after staying there twenty days, when they realized its citadel was unassailable. All of this suggests that the devastation was nowhere near as severe as the *GeH* would have us believe.

⁶⁶ Actually, the fleet reached Ragusa, today the Croatian city of Dubrovnik, before it sailed to Corfu.

⁶⁷ We know nothing else about this person.

⁶⁸ Akra Maléa in the southeast Peloponnesus.

⁶⁹ Durazzo (modern Durrës) is in Albania, which is nowhere near the Peloponnesus.

⁷⁰ In the southwestern Peloponnesus.

⁷¹ Probably the island of Agios Evstrátios.

⁷² This is not an island but an archipelago of islands, of which Paros, Delos, and Andros, but not Agios Evstrátios, are members.

⁷³ Clearly, Bishop Conrad sailed with that portion of the fleet that carried Prince Alexius from Negroponte to Andros, where soldiers under the command of Boniface

through the Hellespont,⁷⁴ the regions of Troy, Sestos, and Abydos,⁷⁵ and countless other cities and 350 islands, at last, under the Lord's guidance, they were carried to Constantinople.⁷⁶

However, the wondrous manner in which the Lord effected miracles through an army as insignificant as it was underrated; how, following the city's siege and capture, the aforementioned youth was reinstated on the royal throne, together with his father Isaac, and he, ungrateful for the favors received, setting himself in opposition to the army, was killed by the Greeks; how in the end, once the city was captured, Alexius,⁷⁷ put in the place of Alexius,⁷⁸ was put to flight and was blinded by Alexius, the paternal uncle of Alexius,⁷⁹ and was captured by the Latins and hurled headlong and dashed to pieces in the city;⁸⁰ how, once the city was controlled by the Latins, Baldwin, count of Flanders, was established as emperor in it, and this same man was slain in battle by Ioannitsa, king of the Vlachs,⁸¹ and the many other things miraculously wrought there: Inasmuch as they require a special essay, they do not appear scattered about in this brief work.

Then in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1204, after Lord Bald-

of Montferrat and Count Baldwin forced the islanders to render allegiance to Alexius and surrender money and supplies: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:124-126, sec. 123.

⁷⁴ The Dardanelles.

⁷⁵ Actually the fleet would have sailed by Troy, Sigeum, Abydos, and Sestos in that order.

⁷⁶ In his voyage from Zara to Constantinople, Bishop Conrad would have touched at or passed by the following places in this order: Ragusa, Durazzo, Corfu, Methóni, Akra Meléa, Paros, Delos, Andros, Agios Evstrátios, Troy, Sigeum, Abydos, Sestos, and Constantinople.

⁷⁷ Alexius V (Mourtzouphlos).

⁷⁸ Alexius IV.

⁷⁹ Alexius III, who was in exile, lured the fugitive Alexius V into a trap and had him blinded.

⁸⁰ Captured in late November 1204, Alexius V was executed by being hurled from a column that stood in Constantinople's Forum of the Bull.

⁸¹ Kalojan, king of the Bulgars and Vlachs (r. 1197-1207), known to the Byzantines by the diminutive Ioannitsa, or "Little John," in alliance with the Greeks of Thrace, defeated and captured Emperor Baldwin at the battle of Adrianople on 14 April 1205. Baldwin died under unknown circumstances while in captivity: see Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines (below).

The bishop of Halberstadt was already sailing home from Acre when this battle took place, and apparently he never learned the full truth about it. In 1224/1225, toward the very end of Conrad's life, as controversy swirled around the pseudo-Baldwin, Bishop Conrad, then a monk at the abbey of Sittichenbach, was one of number of putative authorities who reported that the true Emperor Baldwin had been killed in combat: Andrea, "Conrad," 66.

win, count of Flanders, had been elevated as emperor of the Greeks, Lord Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, in order to discharge his pilgrimage vow,⁸² embarked on a sea voyage from Constantinople to the Holy Land on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of September.⁸³ He departed to the frontiers of Greece with two vessels loaded on that occasion with food and avoided at great peril piratical ambushes. Under the Lord's hire,⁸⁴ he arrived at Tyre on the Nones of October.⁸⁵ From there he traveled on through without delay to the cardinal legates of the Apostolic See at the city of Acre.

These cardinals absolved him of the excommunication that the bishop of Palestrina had laid on him, after receiving surety from him that he would personally visit the pope, and they dispatched their letter to the pope on this matter. Also these cardinals, who were getting ready to travel to Constantinople,⁸⁶ entrusted their duty to this same bishop and requested that he tarry in the Holy Land. Moreover, the archbishop of Tyre, in departing for Greece,⁸⁷ committed the governance of his church to him, with the result that he was lodged both in the city and in his⁸⁸ palace. Also the bishop⁸⁹ personally consecrated, as priest and bishop, the man elected to the see of Sidon.⁹⁰ What is more, a certain philosopher openly revealed to him, while he was at Tyre, all the future events of his life. Then when he seriously suffered from quartan fever at Tortosa, a city in Mesopotamia,⁹¹ he visited the church of Blessed Mary, which the apostles Peter and Andrew are said to have built, and he was cured by divine aid.⁹²

⁸² Thomas F. Madden, "Vows," 463, points out correctly that the majority of the army considered their crusade vow to have been fulfilled by virtue of their having taken Constantinople from schismatics and reclaiming it for Catholicism. See also Reg. 8:127 (126).

⁸³ 17 August 1204.

⁸⁴ As a crusader-pilgrim, he was, metaphorically, the Lord's mercenary soldier.

⁸⁵ 7 October.

⁸⁶ Reg. 7:223.

⁸⁷ Reg. 8:127 (126).

⁸⁸ The archbishop of Tyre.

⁸⁹ Conrad.

⁹⁰ A port city in Lebanon.

⁹¹ A port city in Syria.

⁹² Tradition recognizes this as the first shrine built in honor of the Virgin Mary. Several thirteenth-century travelers in the region have testified that it was a popular pilgrimage site because of its fame as a center for miraculous cures: Jacques of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, J. Bongars, ed. in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), 1072-1073; John

Consequently, after he had lived in the lands across the sea in a manner as worthy of praise as it was honorable, having most conscientiously repaired the walls of Tyre which, along with the entire city, had collapsed as a result of an earthquake, having daily fed a large number of paupers, having visited in charity churches and church people all about and having generously disbursed his goods among them, and also having mercifully sent off his alms to captives and pilgrims, in brief, after having more copiously expended the favor of his generosity on all the poor, so that now he had given away almost all his possessions, then at last, on the second day before the Kalends of April,⁹³ he boarded a ship homeward bound. Furthermore, Lord Aimeric, king of Jerusalem,⁹⁴ as well as knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, and citizens of both Tyre and Acre, along with all the clergy and laity, attended him with sorrow, declaring with truth that indisputably their whole land was left desolate by the single absence of him whose presence, they asserted without doubt, had happily been a blessing for the Holy Land.

Consequently, that bishop, once these manifold acts of gratitude had been proffered and after giving them his blessing, arrived at Crete under a favorable wind, and there a powerful storm fell upon his ship. It drove it with such ferocity toward Barbary⁹⁵ that all were led to desperation. Moreover, they were put through the sieve by this storm from the vigil of the Lord's Supper right up to the holy day of Easter.⁹⁶ Following that, Divine Clemency looked upon them more favorably. Borne by a following breeze, they finally were carried, by the gift of God, to the port of Venice on the vigil of Pentecost.⁹⁷

Here Lord Burchard, dean of the church of Halberstadt,⁹⁸ along with certain other persons from the family of that church, and a messenger from Lord Philip the king, came to meet the bishop.

of Joinville, *L'Histoire de Saint Louis*, Natalis de Wailly, ed. (Paris, 1867), 400.

⁹³ 30 March 1205.

⁹⁴ Aimeric II of Lusignan would die two days later on 1 April. See Reg. 8:127 (126).

⁹⁵ The coast of North Africa.

⁹⁶ 6-10 April 1205.

⁹⁷ 28 May.

⁹⁸ The first extant document that refers to Burchard as dean of Halberstadt cathedral dates from 1203: *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. Gustav Schmidt, 2 vols. (1883; rpt. Osnabruck, 1965): 1:379, no. 425. Whenever Burchard is mentioned in documents dating from 1202, he is listed as an archdeacon: *ibid.*, 1:368-376, nos. 414-421.

Moreover, this bishop, esteemed in no little way and approved by the people of Venice, was welcomed by them as though he were their father and lord.⁹⁹ Also on Pentecost day,¹⁰⁰ while properly attired in pontifical vestments, he was led in solemn procession by the doge,¹⁰¹ the clergy, and all the people of Venice to the monastery of Saint Mark,¹⁰² where he celebrated with appropriate reverence the solemnities of the mass.

What is more, leaving behind his baggage there, he immediately went on to Rome. When the lord pope learned he had come because of the sentence that the bishop of Palestrina had laid on him, even though this man had been absolved by cardinals functioning in the Apostolic stead in overseas regions, he nevertheless required him to be absolved once more as a precaution. Although the pope importuned that man in a variety of ways, in an attempt to tear him away from fidelity to King Philip and to bend him to obedience to Otto,¹⁰³ this bishop resolutely replied that he preferred to incur the stigma of disobedience rather than an indictment for perjury.¹⁰⁴ However, the entire army settled at Constantinople and the king of Jerusalem, along with all the churches of the Holy Land, had written on his behalf, recommending that his person was deservedly worthy of Apostolic favor. Indeed, the tenor of the letter from the pilgrim army was as follows:

Unless we are deceived, they [the Greeks] have offered pleasing obedience to God and the Apostolic Holiness, for which he¹⁰⁵ has effectually kept watch with painstaking diligence, so

⁹⁹ The repetition of a theme used to describe Conrad's initial reception in Venice in 1202. See page 248 above.

¹⁰⁰ 29 May.

¹⁰¹ This is not possible. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:198, sec. 388, informs us that Doge Enrico Dandolo died during this very season of Pentecost and was buried in Constantinople's church of Hagia Sophia. Word only reached Venice of the doge's death on 20 July 1205 (*ibid.*, 199, note 2). This "doge" who participated in the procession had to have been Renier Dandolo, Enrico's son and the vice-doge of Venice.

¹⁰² The church of San Marco, which dominates the Piazza San Marco, was not a monastic church.

¹⁰³ Note the careful choice of words: "fidelity to King Philip" and "bend him to obedience (*obsequium*) to Otto." There is no mistaking who, in the chronicler's mind, was the true monarch.

¹⁰⁴ For breaking his oath of loyalty to Philip.

¹⁰⁵ Bishop Conrad? His Apostolic Holiness, the pope? The reference is ambiguous here, but it seems to refer to Conrad.

that, with the schism of the Greeks mightily crushed, Greece has returned to Apostolic unity and ecclesiastical peace, as is fitting.¹⁰⁶ And toward this end a certain venerable clergy, ours which is with us, labored wisely and piously in all earnestness, and as this is *the* day, it has perseveringly prevailed before God with mighty arms, wherefore it deservedly ought to bear away an excess of Apostolic gratitude and lasting honor for its services. Surely among our venerable pontiffs, who in these matters offered both practical advice and extraordinary solicitude, Lord Halberstadt seemed deservedly praiseworthy. Of benefit to our army in word and by example throughout everything, he openly showed by action the reverence for the Apostolic See that he bore in his heart.

Truly almost at the level of mere petty rumor, to which credence ought not to have been given altogether, we have been informed in passing by certain persons that Your Serenity has been blinded to this man, and the displeasure of Your Holiness has, in some way, waxed against him. Yet, at no time have we heard or seen credible evidence of this. Consequently, we the more readily beg Your Paternity, out of the sincere love that we have and ought to have for the aforementioned pontiff, even to the extent that Your Holiness has been aroused against him justly, which we utterly do not believe, that, out of consideration for his devotion as well as because of our freely offered petition, you grant full and easy pardon in the knowledge that you will not find any rebellion or disobedience whatsoever in him. Rather, he will readily obey, at the first mention of your policy, every pleasure of the Apostolic will. Therefore, with patent signs that falsehood and prating rumor have talked foolishly, absolve and record in sweet letters the Apostolic grace that the aforementioned pontiff has worthily earned, and make it known that the grace of Your Paternity has fully restored him to his church.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ By telling the story of the refusal of the archbishop of Corfu to acknowledge papal primacy, perhaps the *GeH*'s author meant to suggest that the crusaders were justified in doing what was about to unfold: their capturing Constantinople from Alexius V and installing Baldwin as emperor.

¹⁰⁷ Or Church. The word seems to refer to the church of Halberstadt, and this makes the most sense, but it could refer to the Roman Catholic Church.

Therefore, since the cardinals and all the others felt compassion because of his perils and the labors he had endured, a favorable and friendly case was doubtlessly presented for him before the Lord Pope.¹⁰⁸ He, accordingly, restored him to his fullest favor and accepted all his petitions kindly. Also, on the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paul,¹⁰⁹ the lord pope, bedecking Conrad with his very own chasuble and miter,¹¹⁰ made him take his place among the cardinals during the solemnities of the mass. Once benediction and the kiss of peace had been given among themselves and all their associates, joyfully he sent him back to his country.

Therefore the man returned by way of Bologna, and whomever he had met from his country in the area around Rome, as well as those who wished to return home from the schools,¹¹¹ he brought back with him at his own expense. Then, as he approached his land, the distinguished Lord Bernhard, duke of Saxony,¹¹² and a large number of noble knights and ministers of his church, coming out to meet him, greeted him with enormous delight.

*The Arrival of Relics from Greece*¹¹³

Proceeding with them all the way to the city, he arranged to have borne before him, on a bier and suitably bedecked, a treasure as valuable as it was salubrious, that is to say the relics of the saints that he brought back. Consequently, the entire city came, both its clergy and its laity, and the prelates and clerics of the entire diocese, and likewise noblemen and an innumerable body of commoners from neighboring provinces, and advancing out of the city to meet that man farther down the road, they received him with a celebration of such solemnity that its type and magnitude had never before been seen by anyone. Rightly also they cried out as

¹⁰⁸ Conrad's case probably received a preliminary hearing by a cardinal confessor attached to the office of the Penitentiary before it was sent on, with a recommendation, to the pope and his immediate curial advisors.

¹⁰⁹ 29 June.

¹¹⁰ The chasuble is a sleeveless outer garment worn by the celebrant during mass; the miter is a pointed headdress worn by bishops in the Western Church.

¹¹¹ Of Bologna, Europe's premier university for the study of canon and civil law.

¹¹² Bernhard III was also a supporter of Philip of Swabia.

¹¹³ So titled by a rubric in the *GeH*'s fifteenth-century manuscript.

one a benediction in the name of the Lord on the reverend bishop who had come. For this man carried with him tokens of the saints, in connection with which undoubtedly peace and salvation were introduced to the Fatherland.

For, with the extremely propitious arrival of these saints, Divine Mercy adorned the land with such grace that the schism between the king and the priesthood,¹¹⁴ already of long duration, was replaced by unity in the Church. Although it would be effected through the strange¹¹⁵ death of King Philip,¹¹⁶ nevertheless it was by the wondrous¹¹⁷ judgment of God. Also the disorder throughout the entire land, which had increased to such proportions that scarcely ever was it considered possible that it should be laid to rest, suddenly, contrary to all human opinion, was reduced to the blessing of peace and concord. Also a time of scarcity, which had afflicted the land for quite a while, was forthwith transformed into an original state of plenty. Therefore, deservedly there was rejoicing in the arrival of such patrons, by virtue of whom, assuredly, famine, pestilence, death, rebellions and wars¹¹⁸ took their rest in every quarter, with the Lord's help.¹¹⁹

Accordingly, the lord bishop, happily loaded down with these, was guided, with enormous rejoicing and exultation, right up to the church of Saint Stephen.¹²⁰ Here at his entrance, the clerics, making cheerful light of his labors which were happily completed in the Lord, sang with merry voices the antiphon *Justum deduxit Dominus*.¹²¹ Then, in delivering a sermon to the people, he made clear

¹¹⁴ That is, the schism between Philip of Swabia and Pope Innocent.

¹¹⁵ *Mirabili*: the same adjective used to modify "judgment of God" below.

¹¹⁶ Philip was murdered by Count Otto of Wittelsbach in an act of private vengeance on 21 June 1208. This sudden turn of events was all the more dramatic because Philip had essentially defeated Otto of Brunswick to the point that Pope Innocent had withdrawn support from Philip's rival, Otto, who had faced total defeat, now won by default.

¹¹⁷ *Mirabili*: see note 115.

¹¹⁸ An echo of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse: Rev 6:1-8.

¹¹⁹ Cf. the Anonymous of Soissons (above).

¹²⁰ The cathedral church of Halberstadt.

¹²¹ "The Lord has led forth the just man. This responsorial chant, which proclaims in its entirety, "The Lord has led forth the just man through straight paths," underscores the Anonymous of Halberstadt's basic thesis that Bishop Conrad is a just man who has been unjustly persecuted. Evidence strongly suggests that this rare antiphon was reserved for ceremonies celebrating the lives of martyrs who had been persecuted on especially unjust grounds. See Andrea, "Cistercian," 32-33, note 125, for a fuller treatment of this chant.

to them the identity, nature, and number of the patrons they had been worthy of acquiring.¹²²

These, then, are the relics he brought: the blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ; [portions of] the Lord s wood,¹²³ the Lord s Sepulcher, the Lord s crown of thorns, His shroud and *sudarium*,¹²⁴ the purple garment,¹²⁵ the sponge and reed,¹²⁶ the sandals of the same Man; hair from the Blessed Virgin Mary and [portions of] her garments; [a portion of] the skull of Saint John the Baptist, [pieces] of this same man s hair and garments, and one nger; the shinbone of Saint Peter and [a portion] of his hair and garments, the esh of Saint Paul the Apostle, relics of Andrew, the arm of Simon the Apostle, the entire head of James, the Lord s brother, the shoulder of Philip the Apostle, the arm of Barnabus the Apostle, and relics of all the apostles;¹²⁷ [a portion of] the skull of Saint Stephen the protomartyr, along with his elbow;¹²⁸ the arm of Pope Clement; relics of Saint Lawrence, Cosmas and Damian, John and Paul, George, Procopius, Theodore, Demetrius, Abel the Just, Processus and Martinian, Pantaleon, Hermolaus, Hermagoras, a nger of Saint Nicholas; relics of John Chrysostom, John the Almsgiver, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil;¹²⁹ [a portion of] the skull of Mary Magdalene; the hand and arm of Euphemia the virgin; [relics] of Lucy, Margaret, Katherine, Barbara, many other relics of the holy martyrs, confessors, and virgins, which would be tedious to list.¹³⁰

¹²² That is, the saintly patrons whose relics now resided at Halberstadt.

¹²³ From the Cross on which Jesus died.

¹²⁴ See Reg. 7:154, note 460.

¹²⁵ In which Roman soldiers had dressed Jesus in order to mock the "king of the Jews.

¹²⁶ Used to offer Jesus thirst-quenching vinegar and possibly a mild narcotic while he suffered on the cross.

¹²⁷ These unnamed relics of all the apostles were probably gathered together into a single reliquary.

¹²⁸ The cathedral of Halberstadt was dedicated to Saint Stephen.

¹²⁹ Four towering Eastern saints.

¹³⁰ Bishop Conrad s letter of 1208, in which he established the anniversary of his return to Halberstadt with these relics from Constantinople as a perpetual feast day, provides a shorter list and adds only the arm of Saint Matthew: *Urkundenbuch*, 1:401, no. 449. Unlike most of the treasures brought back to the West in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, many of Conrad s benefactions to the cathedral of Saint Stephen were not lost or destroyed over the years and can be viewed today in the cathedral museum. Erich Mayer, *Das Dommuseum Halberstadt, Ein Führer* (Halberstadt, [1938]), 26-30, describes and provides photographs of several of these treasures. Andrea, "Conrad," 63-65, deals with the history of some of these relics.

Moreover, the lord bishop decreed that day of the relics arrival, namely the fteenth day before the Kalends of September,¹³¹ to be a solemn annual festival throughout the entire diocese.¹³² So that the church s conventuals¹³³ might have a place at the major church¹³⁴ on this day, he arranged an honorable mitigation [of the Rule] for them.¹³⁵ He even built, dedicated, and endowed a new altar in the monastery in honor of the aforementioned saints, so that there might be perpetual devotion to these same saints on it.

The GeH momentarily turns to the death of Archbishop Ludolf of Magdeburg and the election of his successor.

This Conrad, moreover, contributed to the church of Saint Stephen ornamentation of gold, silver, precious stones, and purple cloth, which he had brought from Greece, and he decorated the high altar with a most splendid purple cloth, a work in which gold thread was interwoven, and with two excellent tapestries. He also elegantly decorated the sanctuary round about and the choir throughout with silken cloths.

¹³¹ 17 August 1205. The date is erroneous. He entered the city on 16 August, or the sixteenth day before the Kalends of September, as his letter of 1208, in which he established the date as a feast day, shows: *Urkundenbuch*, 1:401, no. 449. The *Chronicon Montis Sereni*, E. Ehrenfeuchter, ed., MGH SS, 23:171, also dates his arrival as 16 August. The chronicler of Halberstadt s slight error might arise from the fact that a year earlier, on 17 August 1204, Conrad had set sail from Constantinople to the Holy Land.

¹³² Conrad s letter of 1208, which established this feast day, stipulated that persons who lived in the neighborhood of Halberstadt could obtain forty days worth of indulgence if they venerated the relics, and those who came from farther away could obtain sixty days of indulgence: *Urkundenbuch*, 1:400, no. 449. For the subsequent history of this indulgence, see Andrea, "Conrad," 63-64, note 224.

¹³³ Those who lead cloistered or semi-cloistered lives in convents. By the thirteenth century, this term normally was used to refer to non-monastic friars and canons regular. However, the rest of the sentence, as well as the sentence that follows, suggests that the reference is to a local monastic community.

¹³⁴ The cathedral.

¹³⁵ A monastic rule, especially the Rule of Saint Benedict, would normally prohibit a monastic community from attending a liturgical celebration in a secular, or non-monastic, church.

The GeH now returns to Conrad's final years as bishop of Halberstadt and his retirement into the monastery of Sittichenbach in 1208. It ends in 1209 with Conrad in the cloister but, with papal permission, licitly exercising his episcopal powers.

PART THREE

THE CRUSADE VIEWED FROM THE CLOISTER: RALPH OF COGGESHALL AND ALBERIC OF TROIS FONTAINES

Included among the so-called minor sources for the Fourth Crusade are a number of chronicles written in the West after 1204 that mention, at least in passing, the story of Constantinople's fall. The most substantial of these second-hand accounts, both in length and in content, are the chronicles of two thirteenth-century Cistercian monks, Ralph of Coggeshall and Alberic of Trois Fontaines, which we shall consider together due to their many striking parallels, despite the fact that they were composed a generation apart from one another.

Ralph was abbot of Coggeshall abbey in Essex, England, from 1206 until his retirement due to ill health in 1218. He is the self-ascribed author of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* for the years 1187 to 1227, although the chronicle as we have it starts in 1066 and ends in 1224. Clearly the chronicle was composed by multiple hands, but there is a stylistic unity to the bulk of the work from 1187 forward, which we can safely ascribe to a single author, and there is no reason to doubt that author was Abbot Ralph.¹ Alberic was a brother at the monastery of Trois Fontaines at Chalons-sur-Marne in Champagne and authored his universal *Chronica* from 1227 to 1251.² The text includes some minor, identifiable interpolations by an anonymous monk of Huy, near Liège, but the passages relating to the Fourth Crusade are not among them.³

¹ Concerning the authorship of the text, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 322-24, who argues that the section from 1066 to 1187 was interpolated *en bloc* from another text, and that Ralph was its author from 1187 forward, excepting a clear break in the graphic narrative for the years 1206-1212.

² Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronica Alberici monachi trium fontium*, Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, ed., MGH SS, 23: 631-950; Andrea, "Cistercian." 9.

³ For a discussion of the text's author and interpolations, see Scheffer-Boichorst's introduction, MGH, SS, 23: 631-43. Some have maintained that an anonymous monk of Neufmoutier abbey in Huy was the chronicle's genuine author, or that Alberic was actually a brother of that abbey rather than Trois Fontaines. Scheffer-Boichorst con-

Ralph and Alberic, writing within the living memory of the crusade, provide a number of details about that event not found elsewhere,⁴ and at points their testimony can be used to corroborate the firsthand reports of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert of Clari, the *DC*, and others. In this capacity their chronicles are usually cited in scholarly works concerned with the Fourth Crusade and its related events, and some scholars have gone so far as to characterize both Ralph and Alberic as “well informed.”⁵ Others argue, however, that the distance and time separating these chroniclers from the deeds they describe render their reliability suspect, and in one case at least, Alberic’s chronicle has been characterized as “usually unreliable.”⁶ To be sure, Coggeshall and Trois Fontaines at times manage to mangle some of the basic details surrounding the crusade, as the notes will show, and the dangers of following their second-hand narratives as unadulterated fact cannot be ignored.⁷

Notwithstanding these flaws, both Cistercian chronicles remain useful to scholars who wish to deepen their understanding of Constantinople’s fall. As will be discussed in detail below, Ralph and Alberic were in excellent positions to garner news about the events surrounding April 1204, and when used with caution, their accounts can provide useful evidence about the crusade and the situation in Constantinople. Ralph, for instance, is an important source for the early Cistercian involvement in the crusade and for the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly, whereas Alberic appears to offer some reliable

vincingly argues for Alberic’s authorship and residence at Trois Fontaines. See Auguste Molinier, *Les sources d’histoire de France des origines aux guerres d’Italie* 3 vols. (New York, 1964), 3:90-91, who supports Scheffer-Boichorst’s conclusions.

⁴ For example, there is no good reason to doubt Alberic’s assertion that a portion of the broken harbor chain from the Tower of Galata was sent to Acre. It is also likely that Emperor Baldwin did send a marvelous carbuncle to King Philip II of France, as Ralph asserts.

⁵ Grandsen, *Historical Writings*, 329; Brand, *Byzantium*, 287.

⁶ *FC*², 283, note 36. Although one finds in Queller and Madden’s notes such words and phrases as “absurdity,” “confused,” and “seldom reliable” used to characterize Alberic’s account, they still cite Alberic nearly a dozen times.

⁷ As Queller and Madden point out, in *FC*¹, 134-35, Queller accepted at face value Alberic’s fanciful account of the famous battle of the icon fought between Henry of Flanders and Morkulfus on 5 February 1204, an error corrected in the second edition: *FC*², 279, note 128. A similar situation surrounds Alberic’s description of the Children’s Crusade, which many scholars view as untrustworthy: Norman P. Zacour, “The Children’s Crusade,” *A History of the Crusades*, 2nd. ed., ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1962-1989), 2:335-40.

information about Alexius Angelus's seizure of the imperial throne in 1195.⁸ Moreover, Alberic's description of the northern branch of the fleet's itinerary from Zara to Constantinople suggests that he was privy to the account of someone who had traveled with that portion of the Venetian fleet and remembered his journey in detail. On his part, Ralph offers second-hand descriptions of the city of Constantinople and its post-crusade condition based on accounts from those who had been there and returned to the West, even though some details, such as the description of the prophetic column, appear garbled in transmission.

When all of this weighed, the conclusion is inescapable that Ralph and Alberic's usefulness as ancillary sources for factual events associated with the crusade is limited and problematical. But that is not the entire picture. Their greater value lies in what they reveal about how the crusade and its participants were perceived by contemporaries and then by the next generation in the West. For example, Ralph's treatment of the evangelical missions of Fulk and his associate, Abbot Eustace of Flay, illustrates how, consonant with Innocent III's own world view as revealed in Reg. 1:398, Western Christians envisioned crusading to be an integral part of a general program of spiritual and moral reformation.

These accounts offer what we might cautiously call popular views of the Fourth Crusade from two unexceptional cloisters that were near enough to the events to be relatively well informed but not close enough to fully appreciate the subtleties and, in some cases, grim realities of the crusade. Certain basic influences shaped Ralph and Alberic's understanding of the Fourth Crusade. Chief among them were the written and oral sources they employed in constructing their accounts, the perspectives and network they shared as Cistercian monks, and the fact that each was, through and through, a son of the Western Latin Church and the culture of Western Europe. It is these biases and how they affected Ralph and Alberic's visions of the crusade—*aws* and all—that make these sources valuable beyond the occasional details and supporting testimony they provide.

It is not surprising that both Cistercian monks were highly inter-

⁸ On this point, see Brand, *Byzantium*, 80-82, and 287.

ested in the course of events surrounding the capture of Constantinople. The Order of Cîteaux had a long history of involvement in the crusading movement and played an exceptional role in the Fourth Crusade.⁹ For Ralph and Alberic, the history of the crusade was, in part, an important moment in the history of their prestigious order. As Ralph relates, several of the crusade's dramatic opening moments occurred at Cîteaux in 1198 and 1201, when the fiery preacher Fulk of Neuilly exhorted the abbots gathered for the Chapter General to take up the Cross. At the second of these meetings, a number of white monks joined the armed pilgrimage, and eventually six abbots set out on the crusade, several of whom assumed prominent positions in the army. Ralph also discusses the order's resistance to an unprecedented crusade tax imposed by Pope Innocent at that time.

Subsequent to the crusade, the Cistercian Order benefited immensely from the Latin conquest of Greece. As early as 1205, Boniface of Montferrat endowed a Cistercian monastery within the territories allotted to him after Constantinople's fall, and over the next twenty years, six more Cistercian houses and two nunneries were founded in crusader Greece.¹⁰ From roughly 1217 to 1240 the Cistercians played a prominent role in the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the Latin empire of Constantinople, most notably as allies of the papacy in its struggles with the Venetian-dominated patriarchate of Constantinople. At the time of Alberic's death around 1251, the order's fortunes in Greece were at their zenith and the Cistercian houses in the East were unaware of the terminal decline awaiting them just around the corner.

It was within this context that Ralph and Alberic penned their respective accounts of the crusade. Both of them undoubtedly received much of their information by talking with fellow Cistercians. Given the Order of Cîteaux's network—Western monks visiting daughter houses in the East and Eastern brothers returning West for General Chapter meetings and visiting their mother houses—there was ample opportunity for news of the crusade and crusader

⁹ Brown, "Cistercians," 63-78; Andrea, *Capture*, 21-25 and 32-34; Thomas M. Prymak, "The Role of the Cistercian Order in the Third Crusade," (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972) p. 138.

¹⁰ And four more houses were founded subsequent to that: Brown, "Cistercians," 78-120.

Greece to reach Ralph and Alberic's eager ears.

In light of the order's prominent role in the crusade and the benefits its monks accrued from it, it is not surprising that a number of prominent Cistercians looked upon the Fourth Crusade in a favorable light, and their sentiments surely were reflected in the order's traditions. Consider two written accounts of the crusade, namely those of Gunther, monk of Pairis, and the Anonymous of Halberstadt, the latter a secular cleric who reflected, however, the attitudes of a recent convert to the Cistercian life. Although neither Ralph nor Alberic read these works as far as we can tell, these texts probably reflect a general Cistercian milieu that influenced the two monks' understanding of the Fourth Crusade. Both the *HC* and that portion of the *GeH* relating to the Fourth Crusade were written in part as apologies for participants in the crusade: namely, Conrad of Krosigk, the bishop of Halberstadt who joined the Cistercian monastery at Sittichenbach subsequent to the crusade and served as the oral source for the last part of the *GeH*, and Abbot Martin of the Cistercian abbey at Pairis, Brother Gunther's oral source. As we have already seen, these works also sought to glorify and justify the sacred relics that Conrad and Martin brought from the sack of Constantinople—sure signs of divine favor. In addition, there is the testimony of that most popular of Cistercian gossip-mongers, Caesarius of Heisterbach. Writing around 1222, Caesarius celebrated the translation to his abbey of the tooth of Saint John the Baptist, which Henry of Ulm had taken from the church of Hagia Sophia in the sack of Constantinople and which proved so efficacious in healing diseases.¹¹ As far as Caesarius was concerned, this relic's arrival at his monastery, due to a holy dream experienced by a nun, was nothing short of divinely ordained. But Pairis and Heisterbach were not the only Cistercian abbeys to receive holy spoils from Constantinople. If Emperor Baldwin was correct, Cîteaux itself had received the imperial icon that Henry of Hainaut had seized in his victory over Mourtzouphlos.¹² Surely the Cistercians were basking in the blessings of this God-directed victory.

To be sure, not all Cistercians looked favorably on the Fourth

¹¹ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, Joseph Strange, ed., 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), 2:127-128, "De diversis visionibus.

¹² Reg. 7:152.

Crusade, either at its inception¹³ or after the fact.¹⁴ And, as we shall see below, at least one of those negative voices was known to Alberic of Trois Fontaines. Nevertheless, the majority opinion among Cistercians who had been associated in some way with the crusade (and whose judgments are known to us) was decidedly favorable. Judging from their writings, Ralph and Alberic shared the sentiments of Gunther, Conrad, and Caesarius—sentiments that probably were more common than not among the monks of the Order of Cîteaux.

Moreover, abbey walls would not have kept these two Cistercian chroniclers from speaking with lay people about the crusade, perhaps even warriors who had participated in Constantinople's conquest. While there was little English participation in the crusade,¹⁵ Coggeshall was ideally located as a cross-roads for tales of far-off lands, only fifty miles from London on the well traveled road from Colchester to Saint Albans.¹⁶ Alberic's home province of Champagne provided a large contingent of warriors, in addition to clergy, for the crusade,¹⁷ and he would have had ample opportunity to speak with old soldiers about their deeds in the East. Although we can only speculate about the tall tales that they heard from (as Ralph puts it) "those returning, if Robert of Clari's written account of the crusade is an indicator, such an oral tradition would have done little to discourage the view of the crusade as a bold and worthy undertaking. Even though Robert complained that the poorer members of the army were exploited by the rich, he had no misgivings about the capture of Constantinople, and his view from the ranks of that event reads like a tale of high adventure. Alberic, safe in his cloister, shows an almost naive interest in the battles surrounding the capture of the city, which tell us less about the conquest of Constantinople and more about his fanciful understanding of that frankly brutal event.

¹³ Andrea, *Capture*, 25.

¹⁴ For an example of one Cistercian who seems not to have had a positive crusade experience or looked back upon the Fourth Crusade favorably, see Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne," 33-37. Of course, Abbot Adam had not traveled with the army from Venice to Constantinople, opting instead to travel directly to Palestine from Italy.

¹⁵ Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), 96.

¹⁶ Grandsen, *Historical Writings*, 324.

¹⁷ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:4-8, secs. 3 and 5; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 11-77, provides biographical sketches of forty-three known crusaders from Champagne.

In constructing their accounts of the crusade, Ralph and Alberic also had recourse to written sources. Chief among these were the letters written by Baldwin of Flanders and Hugh of Saint Pol. As we have already seen, Ralph seems to have used a version of Count Hugh's letter to the West that is now lost, and he refers his readers wishing to know more about the crusade to both Hugh and Baldwin's letters. Alberic includes substantial quotations from the encyclical letter to the West that Emperor Baldwin dispatched in 1204.¹⁸ Clearly, these letters were of considerable significance in shaping Ralph and Alberic's understanding of the crusade. As we have also seen, these propagandistic epistles placed the capture of Constantinople in the best possible light, portraying the Greeks as villains and the crusaders as reluctant heroes with little choice but to defend themselves and their interests. It is no accident that Ralph and Alberic relied on these letters when formulating their accounts of the crusade: They were intended, in a sense, for just such a purpose. Alberic also refers his readers to Cistercian Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay's *Hystoria Albigensis* (*The Albigensian History*),¹⁹ which contains a description of the crusaders' attack on Zara. Alberic's familiarity with the *Hystoria Albigensis* is interesting inasmuch as that text, written by a partisan of Simon of Montfort, who abandoned the army in disgust at Zara, reflects quite poorly upon the attack on that city and on those crusaders who did not leave the army at Zara, to the point of suggesting that the barons who sailed to Constantinople achieved nothing except their own deaths and destruction.²⁰ Peter is also exceedingly anti-Venetian, portraying them as the villains who stood at the center of the tragedy that was the Fourth Crusade.²¹ On his part, Alberic seems to be ambivalent in his treatment of the Venetians. Possibly influenced by Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, he informs his readers that the Venetians conceived the cunning plan of imprisoning the pilgrims on the Isle of Saint Nicholas until they swore to assist them in assaulting Zara, and in that use of the

¹⁸ According to Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS, 23:653-654, Alberic had access to the letter sent to Pope Innocent III. This hardly seems possible. Far more likely, he saw and used a copy of either the letter sent to Cîteaux and all the Cistercian abbots or the letter sent to all the faithful.

¹⁹ Alberic mistakenly attributes the book to Guy, abbot of Cernay and Peter's uncle.

²⁰ Andrea, "Cistercian," 16-17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

term “cunning plan (*Venetiani callide cogitantes*)”²² he seems to echo Peter’s characterization of the Venetians as “a cunning and evil people (*homines callidi et perversi*).”²³ But with that written, Alberic then largely passes over the Zaran Affair in silence. He does not even mention that the crusaders were excommunicated for their involvement in this matter, although he surely knew so if he read the *Hystoria Albigensis*. What is more, from then onward he largely does not single out the Venetians as an entity apart from the other pilgrims, but when he does, he treats them and their doge generously.²⁴ Most significant of all, Alberic notes (wrongly) that the crusaders and the Venetians were quickly forgiven for their deeds at Zara and set out *with the pope’s blessings for Constantinople*, which was—as Alberic records it—why they had gone to Venice in the first place.²⁵ For Alberic, Constantinople was the genuine destination of the Fourth Crusade, and Zara was merely a bump on the road to greater and more glorious things. Here he has successfully balanced his Cistercian sources, the saturnine view of Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay and the sanguine view of the Cistercian mainstream, to fashion an account that presents, on balance, a story of triumph rather than tragedy.

Ralph makes no mention of the attack on Zara, a fixation for some contemporaries and, even more so, modern historians, although he must have been aware of it. Was this part of a conspiracy of silence? Unlikely. No doubt the embarrassing sack of Zara simply did not seem all that significant to Abbot Ralph in light of the crusade’s astonishing outcome. Furthermore, for Ralph, as is equally true for Alberic, the Venetians—the villains of many a modern crusade conspiracy theory—are treated as equal participants in the crusade. Led by Doge Enrico Dandolo, who stands beside Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders as a leader of the crusading army, they share in the dangers and the rewards of the armed pilgrimage undertaken.

Beyond their fraternal membership in the Cistercian Order and

²² Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronica*, MGH SS, 23:880.

²³ Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, 1:107.

²⁴ Andrea, “Cistercian,” 9–10.

²⁵ Queller and Madden, *FC*², 219, note 41, argue that *Constantinopolim* must be a scribal error, and “Egypt” or “Cairo” was originally written here. They rest their judgment upon the point that Alberic later relates how Alexius sent letters to the crusaders asking for their aid.

the sources they employed, we must finally consider a broader milieu that helped shape Ralph and Alberic's understanding of Fourth Crusade. One can debate whether the crusaders' attack on Constantinople was motivated by centuries-old cultural and religious antagonism between the Latins and the Greeks. Some scholars argue that this greater context made a Latin attack on Constantinople almost inevitable, while others largely discount this and focus on the specific (and, some argue, accidental) circumstances that led to the capture of the city.²⁶ It is highly debatable whether or not the developing schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, as well as the increasingly popular view of the Greeks as traitors to the crusading cause²⁷ and Constantinople's reputation as a treasury of desirable Christian relics,²⁸ directly contributed to the crusaders' deviation to Constantinople. At the same time, it is clear that at least the first two considerations entered into the crusaders' calculus as they roused themselves up to assault the city in April 1204.²⁹ It is also beyond debate that all three considerations were important in shaping Western reactions to the crusade after the fact.

In these terms, not just the Cistercian Order but all of Latin Christendom benefited from the Fourth Crusade. On the one hand, the holy power of Constantinople's sacred relics had been made available to the West, even if a bit of pious thievery was needed to acquire it. On the other hand, a new Latin empire had

²⁶ Thomas F. Madden, "Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade," *International History Review* 17 (1995): 726-743, provides an excellent overview of Fourth Crusade historiography. According to Madden, the "outside" approach to the capture of Constantinople sees the previous centuries of Latin-Greek antagonism as critical for understanding the attack on the city, and the "inside" view focuses on the specific chain of events that caused the crusaders' assault: a chain of events that some argue (notably Queller and Madden) was unforeseen and accidental. An earlier, and still invaluable survey of the debates whirling around this crusade can be found in Donald E. Queller and Susan J. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969): 235-277. Queller also edited a collection of texts, both primary and secondary, relating to the Fourth Crusade controversy under the title *The Latin Conquest of Constantinople* (New York, 1971).

²⁷ B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen, 1096-1204* (Assen, Netherlands, 1971), studies the evolution of Western attitudes toward the Greeks of Constantinople in the era of the first four crusades.

²⁸ As argued by Alphandéry, *Chrétienté*, passim, and especially A. Frolov, *Recherches sur la déviation de la quatrième croisade vers Constantinople* (Paris, 1955), passim. See Queller and Madden's critique of this thesis: *FC*², 250, note 69.

²⁹ See Clari's description of the sermon given the crusaders by their bishops and other clerics on 11 April: *Conquête*, 71-72, secs., LXXIII-LXXIV.

been carved out in the East, on the doorstep of the Holy Land, as the imperial power of the Greeks was transferred to the more deserving Latins. These sentiments underlie the arguments presented by the anonymous authors of Soissons and Halberstadt that the crusade greatly benefited Latin Christendom. Ralph and Alberic shared in such an understanding of the Fourth Crusade, viewing it as a triumph—not a betrayal—of the crusading spirit. Consider, for example, Ralph's enthusiasm for Fulk of Neuilly, who, endowed with miraculous powers and papal support, rallied support for the crusade among nobles and commoners alike. There is not a hint of criticism toward Fulk in regard to the crusade's eventual outcome. If only Saint Bernard had been so fortunate after the ill-fated Second Crusade.³⁰ Or consider Alberic's detailed account of the famous battle between crusader Henry of Flanders and Morkulfus (Mourtzouphlos): The Greeks were routed, losing the emperor's imperialia and a precious icon of the Virgin; the crusaders lost nary a man; and the wonderful icon was dedicated to Cîteaux. What better sign could there be of the Lord's favor?

The crusaders' noble story does not stop with the fall of Constantinople. Surrounded by a ring of foes, the Latins must battle to keep their hard-fought gains, losing their newly crowned emperor, Baldwin, in battle at Adrianople with the treacherous king of Bulgaria. In Ralph's chronicle this very defeat leads to a great blessing for a part of Latin Christendom. After the battle at Adrianople, an English priest and friend of Baldwin, who had been sent to fetch a relic of the True Cross left behind in Constantinople, hears of the defeat and flees to England with that holy relic. Ultimately he bestows it upon the humble priory of Bromholm, which becomes the site of miracles and a center of pilgrimage as Bromholm grows in wealth and status. As at Soissons, Halberstadt, Pairis, Cîteaux, and elsewhere, the sacred wealth of Constantinople had found a new, more deserving home in the Latin West.

Arguably, Alberic's perception of the Fourth Crusade is best revealed by his lack of distinction between that crusade and the others he describes in his writings. His chronicle touches upon the endeavors of thirteenth-century crusaders *crucesignati* not just in

³⁰ After the debacle of the Second Crusade, its most zealous advocate Bernard of Clairvaux was subject to widespread criticism: Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 244-54, 266-70.

Greece, but in Egypt with the Fifth Crusade;³¹ in Spain at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa;³² in Languedoc against Albigensian heretics;³³ and in France and Alexandria with the so-called Childrens Crusade.³⁴ The very words he uses to introduce the army of the Fourth Crusade, ‘‘an expedition overseas of noblemen signed with the Cross, are the same ones he employs to begin his account of the Fifth Crusade. Whatever the predilection of some modern scholars, this thirteenth-century historian saw no reason to differentiate among crusades be they against schismatic Greeks, in del Muslims, or internal heretics nor did he single out the Fourth Crusade as singularly worthy of disapproval.

Describing the enemies who besieged the Latin empire in Greece after Baldwin s death, Alberic writes that God left these people on Earth so that He might make a trial of Israel, ‘‘that is, the Latin people. Ralph would have agreed with this idea. Taken together, their chronicles reveal an enthusiasm for the outcome of the Fourth Crusade and for crusading in general an enthusiasm that might surprise those who see crusading after the twelfth century as moribund, with the Fourth Crusade as the prime symbol of crusading s degeneration. Neither of these monks Ralph writing in distant England and Alberic writing a generation after 1204 was defending specific participants in the crusade, nor, as far as we know, did their respective houses receive any of the relics plundered from Constantinople. If they were partisans, it was a partisanship for the Cistercian Order as a whole and for the greater Christian community of the Latin West. Reading these chronicles that are one or two steps removed in space or time from the controversy-laden immediacy of the Fourth Crusade, one gets the feeling that the more intimately involved apologists, such as Hugh of Saint Pol, Baldwin of Flanders, Gunther of Pairis, and the anonymous authors of Halberstadt and Soissons, not to mention Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, had done their jobs well.

³¹ Alberic, *Chronica*, MGH SS, 23: 905-906, 908-912.

³² *Ibid.*, 894-895.

³³ *Ibid.*, 888, 892 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 893-94.

i. RALPH OF COGGESHALL, *CHRONICLE*

Regarding the Decree of the Lord Pope

At that time [1200], Pope Innocent was weighed down with great concern for the relief of the land of Jerusalem. After first obtaining advice, he took care to send the following decree throughout the entire Church.

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, the archbishop of Canterbury¹ and his suffragans, and to his beloved sons, the abbots, priors, and deans, archdeacons, and all clerics, subordinates as well as prelates, greeting and Apostolic benediction.

What follows is the first portion of Reg. 2:258 (270) down through the sentence From this general order we except the Cistercian monks, the Praemonstratensian canons, the hermits of Grandmont, and the Carthusians, on whom we have enjoined a special mandate regarding this matter. This is followed by a close paraphrase of the remainder of the letter.²

In the year 1198: At that very time a certain priest named Fulk appeared in a particular district of Paris called Neuilly. He was distinguished in word and deed and totally dedicated to holy preaching.

¹ Archbishop Hubert Walter.

² For a list of the surviving copies of the letter, see note 107 accompanying Reg. 2:258 (270).

Carefully governing the church entrusted to him, he called forth with tireless exhortations the people of God who lived around about to a contempt for worldly matters and a hunger for those of Heaven. By no means did he overlook the sins of wrong-doers but censured them with a stern voice and open rebuke. He especially rebuked with sharp invective usurers, who had multiplied beyond number in those provinces, and also adulterous women.³ He was courteous to no wrong-doer nor did he utter anyone with false praise; rather, he plainly and openly disclosed the naked truth to all. For two years he pursued holy preaching in this freedom of spirit and was able to convert from the error of their way of life a very few who did not hold his preaching in contempt. For certain people refused to listen; indeed, some reviled him with insults. Whereupon, he had decided that he ought to cease preaching. But the Just Creator did not wish the seeds of his preacher to be lost any longer—a preacher who was busy nourishing the people of God in three ways: namely, by the example of his conduct; by the word of his holy preaching; and also by the fruit of his pious prayer. He bestowed the voice of power on the voice of His preacher, so that his words, as if they were the sharp arrows of the mighty, might penetrate the perverse hearts of people made obdurate by habit, and soften them to tears and penance. So indeed, his magnificent and powerful voice disturbed hearts severed from the Lord, dispersed shadowy hiding places, and dissipated⁴ the torpor of the indifferent, not only recalling sinners from the error of their lives but also leading them back and standing them before him face-to-face, so that the book of a branded conscience might be opened to the mind's eyes and the miserable course of a life might pass before each of them. He also bestowed on His preacher tokens of power so that he might confirm the words of his holy preaching by the following signs and recall to the path of salvation through the wonders of miracles those whom he could not through words: For he gave sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf; he restored mobility to the crippled; he returned a useful tongue to the mute; and he expelled by divine power any number of vexsome illnesses.⁵ This he

³ *Fornicarias mulieres*: The term can also mean "prostitutes."

⁴ This repetition of "dis" verbs is an attempt to mimic Ralph's rhetorical flourish: *concutiebat; discutiebat; excutiebat*.

⁵ Cf. Lk 7:22-23.

did without the mediation of prolonged prayer, only by the imposition of his hand and the sign of the Holy Cross.

Distinguished by these two spiritual gifts,⁶ this remarkable man, endowed with still a third, not inconsiderable power, shone forth exceptionally in these days. He had, indeed, a certain privileged gift of the Holy Spirit, namely discernment of spirits, through which he knew to which sick persons and at what time he should bestow the privileges of healing. For when certain sick people quite insistently demanded the act of healing from him, on some he suddenly conferred health; to certain others he totally denied it, declaring that it would not be advantageous to the soul's salvation, nor acceptable before God, if they were restored to pristine health lest, perhaps, they be made worse through the remedy of acquired health; to certain others, in truth, he said that the time for their healing had not yet come, for they had not yet expiated their sins through the scourge of divine punishment.

Exalted, therefore, by such powers and invited by bishops, this man gloriously disseminated⁷ the Word of God through cities, through castles. In every place he was received with the greatest reverence as an angel of the Lord by all the clergy and people. And in all those places he displayed publicly no excessive level of ascetic conduct either in his vigils or in the frugality of his diet (which seemed amazing to certain people) but took with a gesture of thanks whatever was set before him.

Then, after he had disseminated the Word of God throughout the provinces of Gaul and had pulled usurers back from insatiable greed (they whose voracious avarice neither the terror of royal power nor the censure of ecclesiastical punishment had ever been able to restrain), and also after he had called back to the path of salvation adulterous women and others entangled in various crimes, and had illuminated every province with signs and miracles, he finally arrived at the Chapter General of the Cistercians,⁸ with many people accompanying him, so that he might commend himself to the prayers of the abbots who had convened there⁹ and of the entire order. In their Chapter he put an emblem of the Holy

⁶ The gifts of effective preaching and miracle working.

⁷ Ralph is continuing the image of seed-spreading.

⁸ Mid September 1198. See note 10.

⁹ Such as Abbot Ralph.

Cross on his garment,¹⁰ together with the bishop of Langres, who had been the abbot of Clairvaux.¹¹ He asked with steadfast supplication that they deign to lavish on him from that large number of abbots some companions for his holy pilgrimage and assistant preachers of the Word of God. He met with little success, however, because it seemed incongruous to them that they desert their own sheep, entrusted to their care, and offer the nourishment of holy preaching to strangers who were not entrusted to them. Accordingly, he left the Chapter of abbots with crowds of brothers accompanying him and bearing many emblems of the Holy Cross with him. He gave an exhortatory sermon to the people who had convened outside the gate, urging them to make the journey to Jerusalem. When the people saw that this man of God would be signed with the Cross and heard that he would be on hand as leader and guide of that sacred journey, they eagerly flocked to him from every side. From all points they hasten in large numbers: rich and poor, nobles and the base born alike, the old along with the young, an innumerable multitude of both sexes. And they eagerly receive the sign of the Cross from him. In fact, after he left there, he went out again into the regions of Gaul, everywhere urging the taking up of that pilgrimage in the name of the Lord.

About the Abbots Departing for Jerusalem

In this year [1201] many noble and powerful men took up the Cross because of the exhortation of the lord Pope Innocent and the preaching of Lord Fulk. Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, brother of the same marquis who was murdered by the Assassins,¹² was made head of them¹³ and leader of the pilgrim army. Moreover, faithfully journeying with many companions to the Cistercian Chapter,¹⁴ he commended himself to their prayers and humbly

¹⁰ Appropriately, the annual meeting of the Cistercian Chapter General began on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross: 14 September.

¹¹ Garnier of Rochfort: Brown, "Cistercians," 66.

¹² Conrad of Montferrat.

¹³ The noble and powerful men.

¹⁴ The Chapter General of September 1201, to which Fulk had returned after his

petitioned for and received into the company of the sworn pilgrimage a certain Cistercian abbot from his region,¹⁵ namely the abbot of Lucelle.¹⁶ Likewise, Lord Fulk, arriving at the aforementioned Chapter with a letter from the lord pope, took into his company three abbots appointed by the Apostolic lord: namely, the abbot of Cercanceaux,¹⁷ also the abbot of Perseigne,¹⁸ and the abbot of Cernay.¹⁹ Also Count Baldwin of Flanders along with his countess,²⁰ both having been signed with the Cross, received into their company the abbot of Loos.²¹ Truly, an exigency of great magnitude demanded that many men of proven religion accompany the army of the Lord on such a laborious pilgrimage — men who could comfort the faint of heart, instruct the ignorant, and urge on the upright to the Lord's battle, assisting them in all matters that endanger souls. Indeed, many thousands were gathered there from various parts of the world, who needed the advice and help of righteous men. For, after innumerable others had been recruited, Lord Fulk confessed before that General Chapter (not without tears) that, in the course of the three years in which he had preached, he had signed by his own hand two hundred thousand with the symbol of the Cross,²² who had all relinquished for the time being parents, homeland, and the joy of life in order to serve Christ.

*How the Lord Pope Brought Back the Cistercians
into the Grace of Reconciliation*

Lord Pope Innocent sent a certain special letter to the Cistercian Chapter in which he remitted all taxes and granted them the full favor of his affection and a renewal of all their privileges, and he gladly promised other liberties, as well.²³ For that Apostolic lord

earlier rebuff.

¹⁵ Italy's Piedmont.

¹⁶ No! It was Peter, the abbot of Lucedio: Andrea, *Capture*, 21-22.

¹⁷ His name is not known.

¹⁸ Adam: see Andrea, `Adam, 21-22.

¹⁹ Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay.

²⁰ Maria of Champagne. See notes 42 and 43 below.

²¹ Simon. Regarding the signing of these four abbots, see statute 37 of the Chapter General of 1201: Joseph Canivez, ed., *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 8 vols. (Louvain, 1933-1941), 1:270.

²² This number seems grossly exaggerated.

himself had displayed an angry disposition toward the order for two years already because of a certain monetary tax for the relief of the land of Jerusalem that the Cistercian Order, which has enjoyed full immunity [from taxes] from the days of its forebears to the present, refused to pay him, not wishing to submit to a tax of this sort. Moreover, so that the lord pope might desist from such an exaction, many abbots were sent to the Roman curia once and again. They were not in the least able to obtain the grace of reconciliation, nor were others also of the order able, in the meanwhile, to bring to completion any business there without the greatest of difficulty.²⁴ The lord abbot of Cîteaux²⁵ set out with others for the curia on account of this matter; the lord pope retained him in his service and ordained him cardinal bishop of the city of Palestrina. Finally, indeed, the Apostolic lord taking into consideration the singular excellence of the Cistercian Order and also warned by a certain vision,²⁶ granted them the full grace of reconciliation, and he abstained from an exaction of this sort, seeking [instead] the intercession of their prayers.²⁷

The abbot of Flavigny,²⁸ a companion in preaching to Lord Fulk,

²³ A letter of July 1201: August Potthast, *Regesta ponti cum Romanorum*. 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874-1875), 1:129, no. 1435.

²⁴ See Brown, "Cistercians," 70-72, for a survey of the pope's often heated negotiations with the order of Cîteaux over its crusade donation.

²⁵ Guy of Poré (abbot of Cîteaux, 1193-1200; consecrated cardinal bishop of Palestrina in 1200; raised to the archbishopric of Rheims in 1204; died 1206). See the *GeH* (above).

²⁶ According to Caesarius of Heisterbach, it was a miraculous intercession by the Blessed Virgin, the special patroness of the Order of Cîteaux: *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2:7-8, "De Sancta Maria.

²⁷ And also accepted the promise of a "free gift" of 2,000 marks, rather than the fifth he had originally demanded on 28 December 1199: Reg. 2:257 (268,269) in *Register Innocenz III.*, 2:488-490.

²⁸ Two abbeys bore the name Flavigny—Flavigny-sur-Ozerain in Burgundy and Flavigny-sur-Moselle in Lorraine—but neither produced this preacher. The person was Eustace, abbot of the Norman Benedictine monastery of Saint Germer of Flay, who conducted revivalist missions in England in 1200 and 1201, where he especially emphasized Sunday observance: Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 4:123-124 and 167-172; see also J. L. Cate, "The English Mission of Eustace of Flay (1200-1201)," in *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire d'Henri Pirenne*, ed. F. L. Ganshof, E. Sabbe, and F. Vercauteren (Brussels, 1937), 67-89. Here Ralph seems to refer to Abbot Eustace's more successful mission of 1201.

came to England and spread the Word of God through various provinces. Amid other exhortations in regard to virtuous behavior, he took care to warn people about observance of the Lord's Day and the celebration of saints' feast days, and he altogether forbade them to go to any market for the purpose of commerce on Sundays. Whereupon it happened that throughout the province of Canterbury and throughout many locations in England, people forsook the markets on Sundays and attended divine services. Many amazing miracles were reported, and in many localities in England stories were spread about regarding the divine punishment wrought on those who, after he had preached, did not wish to desist from servile labor on holy Sundays and on Saturdays after None had struck.²⁹

How the City of Constantinople Was Captured by the Latins

The city of Constantinople was besieged by the doge of Venice, Count Baldwin of Flanders, and the rest of their comrades traveling to Jerusalem, and within eight days of the siege it was surrendered to them, with the sight of the false emperor, who had iniquitously blinded his own brother, Emperor Kirisac, and condemned him in prison along with his empress, this despite the fact that the same Kirisac previously liberated his brother from heathen captivity. Alexius, the son of Kirisac, was made emperor by the Franks. He had invited them to his aid and had guided them by ship from Corfu all the way to Constantinople, through the port of Bodekave,³⁰ through the narrow sea,³¹ and through the Arm of Saint George. Having launched their ships from Corfu (that is to say, two hundred of them), they landed them (except for small vessels and barges) at the port of Bodekave on the eighth day. The distance from this port all the way to Constantinople is calculated at one hundred leagues.

²⁹ That is after Saturday midafternoon, when church bells had rung None, or the ninth hour of daylight. Saturday None signaled the beginning of the eve of the feast of Sunday and, therefore, a time of rest and prayer. Cf. the Anonymous of Soissons.

³⁰ Abydos.

³¹ The Dardanelles.

Indeed, once Alexius had been made emperor, he promised that throughout an entire year he would lavish food upon the whole army that he had brought with him and that he would pay the expenses of ten thousand cavalymen to aid the Holy Land for one year. He also promised that, for as long as he might live, he personally would maintain five hundred knights for service in the Holy Land. He also gave one hundred thousand marks of silver to the doge of Venice and paid out the same to the entire army for the assistance they had given, as he had earlier promised them. Moreover, the patriarch of Constantinople and Emperor Alexius, along with the entire Eastern Church and the entire empire, promised to submit to the Roman Pontiff from thence forward, that they would acknowledge themselves to be sons of the Roman Church, having offered the security of an oath to this effect, and that the patriarch of the aforementioned city would receive the pallium of his office from the lord pope.³²

The leaders of this army were Count Baldwin of Flanders, Count Louis of Blois, the marquis of Montferrat, the doge of Venice, the count of Saint Pol, Matthew of Montmorency, the marshal of Champagne, Conon of Béthune, M[iles]. of Brébant, John Foisnon, John of Friaise, Peter of Bracieux,³³ Anselm of Cayeux, the bishop of Halberstadt, the bishop of Troyes, John Faciete, and many others.

About the Count of Flanders Being Made Emperor

Alexius, the son of Emperor Kirisac, who had been made emperor by the Latin army that he had led to Constantinople for his own aid, was murdered through the treachery of a certain Morkulfus, a relative of his who had aspired to the throne for a long while. The Greeks, in fact, were favoring in place of Alexius another man, a certain Nicholas. Soon afterwards he³⁴ was killed by them, due to

³² Compare both of the preceding paragraphs with the letter of Hugh of Saint Pol.

³³ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 91-98.

³⁴ In light of Emperor Baldwin's letter to the West (Reg. 7:152), which was one of Ralph's sources, this ambiguous pronoun refers to Alexius and not Nicholas.

the persuasion of the already mentioned traitor, who claimed that he was joined in a pact of friendship with the Latins who had come there. Following this, Morkulfus was made emperor by the Greeks. He immediately denied the Latins the food and markets of the city and, insofar as he was able to do so, he attacked them with the aid of the Greeks in their encampment and ships while they spent a bitter winter outside of Constantinople. At length, he fought with Henry, brother of Count Baldwin of Flanders, who, along with his comrades, had gone out to the city of Philippica to procure provisions. When he fled from the Latins, he also lost the symbols of imperial power there: namely, a golden shield and a golden icon of Blessed Mary, which afterwards was sent by common agreement to the Cistercian Chapter. Mindful, therefore, of the Greeks' evil deceit, the Latins again besieged the city, and within a short period of time captured it, along with its palaces.

Now the city of Constantinople, so they say, has the appearance almost of a triangle, with a width of six miles.³⁵ Moreover, the circumference of the city is almost eighteen miles³⁶ that is, it is six miles from corner to corner. The height of its walls is fifty feet, and the towers that run the circuit atop the walls stand apart from one another a distance of twenty feet.³⁷ Within it there is a certain remarkable imperial palace called the Blakernae, also the palace of Constantine, and the palace of Bohemond. There is contained within this city that incomparable church, namely Hagia Sophia, that Justinian built: Such wondrous and incredible things are generally reported about the magnitude of this building and the excellence of its riches. The aforementioned emperor enriched this church with great revenues, appointing to it nine hundred and fifty canons. People who know the ins and outs of this city say with confidence that it has more inhabitants than those who live in the area from the city of York all the way to the River Thames.³⁸

³⁵ The thirteenth-century city, which was triangular in shape, was about four miles in width (from the sea of Marmara to the Blachernae Palace complex on the Golden Horn) and a bit more than three miles in length from the Theodosian walls to the Bosphorus. Regarding the city's physical layout, see: Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1964), and Alexander Van Milligen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899).

³⁶ More like twelve miles.

³⁷ More like fifty-ve meters apart.

³⁸ Cf. Ralph's description of Constantinople with that of Alberic below.

Once the city was gained (with Morkulfus seeing), then Count Baldwin of Flanders was made emperor by common agreement. He at once generously distributed a third part of the imperial treasury among the Latin princes and army. This third part encompassed eighteen-hundred thousand marks of silver. This boundless wealth is viewed as unbelievable by us, just as also are the other things that are reported regarding the riches of the Greeks and of the construction of the aforesaid city and Hagia Sophia. In fact, those returning say that the emperor's daily revenue is thirty thousand *perpres*. A *perpre*, indeed, is a gold coin valued at three silver *solidi*.³⁹ Moreover, he generously lavished offices, honors, and many splendid gifts on the princes and others who had been with him. He sent to King Philip, his former lord,⁴⁰ a certain carbuncle—a most precious gem—which was capable of illuminating the entire palace with its reddish sparkle, and two royal garments wondrously interwoven with gold and precious stones.

In ancient times a certain column, whose base is in constant motion, was erected in Constantinople (so they say) by a certain soothsayer with mechanical skill. Atop the capital of the column, in fact, were placed the images of three emperors: one of whom looks toward Asia, another to Europe, the third to Africa. A circle appears above the heads of the images, on which one sees the inscribed statement in Greek letters that after three emperors called Alexius have ruled in Greece, the reign of the Greeks is fated to end, and the empire will be transferred to a foreign people. And atop this circle stands a fourth image—that is, above the heads of the others—more eminent and distinguished than the other images, which appears to look toward the western quarter of the globe and extends its hand to the West.⁴¹

Moreover, if anyone wishes to know more about how the city of

³⁹ The Greek *hyperperon* actually equaled nine *solidi*. Four *hyperpera* were the equivalent of a mark, or half pound, of silver. One pound equaled 72 *solidi*.

⁴⁰ King Philip II of France and not Philip of Swabia.

⁴¹ Several other stories of prophetic columns and statues are associated with the capture of Constantinople. Nicetas Choniates tells of an ancient statue of Athena that a Constantinopolitan mob destroyed in 1203 because she appeared to be looking westward and beckoning the Western armies: *Historia*, 558-559 (Magoulias, *O City*, 305-306); Gunther of Pairis, *HC in Orth*, 166 (Andrea, *Capture*, 116-117), Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:116, sec. 308, and Clari, *Conquête*, 89, sec. XCII, all report that the column from which Emperor Alexius V was hurled was inscribed with prophetic scenes that portended Constantinople's capture.

Constantinople was captured once and then again by an army of Latins on its way toward Jerusalem, how the count of Flanders was made emperor, about the acquisition of relics from the cities, and about the disagreement that arose between the aforementioned emperor and the marquis of Montferrat, let him read the letters that the same emperor and H[ugh], count of Saint-Pol, sent their friends dwelling in the western parts of the world.

The countess of Flanders died in Acre, from whom Count Baldwin (afterwards emperor) fathered a single daughter, who was born in the same year that her father had set out on the journey to Jerusalem.⁴² This countess was the daughter of Henry, count of Troyes,⁴³ and sister of that Henry who fell from a terrace at Acre,⁴⁴ to whom King Richard had granted the kingdom of Jerusalem after the death of the marquis.⁴⁵

Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, was captured by means of an ambush at Adrianople, a city in Thrace, by a certain powerful Greek, John Vlaxus, and was shut up in prison. Count Louis, the son of Count Theobald of Blois, was killed in that battle, and Stephen, brother of Count Robert of Perche, and many others of their army were killed. However, Henry, brother of the emperor, governed the empire in the meanwhile, and manfully struggling against his enemies, he sent a golden bull to kings and princes, imploring them to send over all available steadfast men to aid him.

On the Thursday of Easter week,⁴⁶ the aforesaid emperor was captured as he recklessly rode out far from his army, seeking plunder⁴⁷ with sixty knights.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the son of the aforesaid John

⁴² Countess Marie of Champagne had remained behind in Flanders, where she gave birth to their daughter Margaret. Following her confinement, she set sail from Marseilles to Acre. Almost immediately upon landing there, she received word of her husband's election as emperor. While preparing to join him in Constantinople, she took ill and died: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:124-126, sec. 317.

⁴³ Marie was the daughter of Count Henry I and Marie of Champagne and granddaughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Louis VII: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 140.

⁴⁴ Henry of Champagne, count Palatine of Troyes and lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem by virtue of his marriage to Isabella I, fell to his death from a window in 1197.

⁴⁵ Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, Boniface's older brother and Isabella I's second husband, who was murdered by an Assassin.

⁴⁶ The Thursday following Easter: 14 April 1205.

⁴⁷ The Latin reads *dum ab exercitu suo semotus incaute obequitaret ad prandium cum sexaginta*

Vlaku, in accordance with his father's petition, was with Pope Innocent in order to be crowned by him for the sake of the kingdom called Vlachia.⁴⁹ The brother of the doge of Venice was consecrated with great solemnity as patriarch of Constantinople⁵⁰ by Pope Innocent; this had not happened for many ages past.

*About the Holy Cross at Bromholm*⁵¹

At that time when Count Baldwin along with the doge of Venice and their comrades had besieged and captured the city of Constantinople, and Count Baldwin was made emperor, it happened that a certain priest (English by birth), having completed his pilgrimage, returned from the land of Jerusalem to Constantinople because he had heard that the Franks had just gained possession of the land of the Greek emperor, Kirisac, and had made Count Baldwin emperor.⁵² Inasmuch as the aforesaid priest had frequented the emperor's chapel and sang with pleasure and diligently ministered at services (after the manner of his homeland), the emperor retained him in his chapel and in his service, and he became quite close to him. So it was that on many occasions he entrusted him with the keys to his relics and hidden treasures. There was, moreover, a certain Holy Cross cut off from the wood of the Lord's Cross in an-

militibus (as he recklessly rode out far from his army, seeking a meal with sixty knights). The phrase *ad prandium* (for a meal) is clearly a scribal mistake, especially in light of the fact that this clause reappears in the section devoted to the Cross of Bromholm, but there Baldwin rides out *ad praedandum* (for plunder).

⁴⁸ Villehardouin, who was at Adrianople, tells a quite different story: *Conquête*, 2:166-170, secs. 357-360

⁴⁹ Reg. 7:231 of November 1204 from Basil, primate of Bulgaria and Vlachia, to the pope, mentions that two boys, one of whom was the king's son, were being dispatched to Rome to further their education in Latin: *Register Innocenz III.*, 7:412. This is the only known mention of any son of Kalojan in Rome at this time.

⁵⁰ Patriarch Thomas Morosini (r. 1205-1211) was not the brother of the doge either Enrico Dandolo (d. 1205) or his successor Peter Ziani.

⁵¹ Also known as the Holy Rood of Bromholm. For a somewhat different account of the translation of this relic to Bromholm, see Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, Henry G. Hewlett, ed. in *Rer. Brit. M. A. script.*, 3 vols. (London, 1886-1889), 84, 2:274-276. Matthew Paris repeats Roger's story in his *Chronica majora*, Henry Richards Luard, ed., in *Rer. Brit. M. A. script.*, 7 vols. (London, 1872-1883), 57, 3:80-81.

⁵² See Innocent's lament over this gift from the Holy Land: Reg. 8:127 (126).

cient times and concealed in a precious case, which the emperors had customarily carried into battle when fighting their enemies, so that they might triumph over their foes by reason of the power of the Holy Cross.

It so happened afterwards, during Easter Week, that Emperor Baldwin led his army against John Vlakus at the city of Adrianople in Thrace, and he forgot to carry the aforesaid Cross with him, as was the custom. Consequently, he hastily sent the aforesaid chaplain, his friend, all the way to Constantinople for the aforesaid Cross. When, in the meanwhile, the emperor recklessly rode out far from his army, seeking plunder with sixty knights, he was captured by means of an ambush and imprisoned by John Vlakus. Count Louis, the son of Count Theobald of Blois, was also killed in that battle and many other from their army.

And when that priest, who had gone for the Cross, had heard these rumors, he secretly fled from that land with the Holy Cross. He successfully arrived in England and resided for quite some time in his home region of Norfolk, wishing to reveal nothing to anyone regarding his treasure that he had borne with him, save at the point of death. He confessed to the prior and canons at Wabrune⁵³ that he possessed such a Cross, which he might bestow upon them, if they were willing to provide his two sons⁵⁴ with life's necessities. Seeing that they disregarded him and had no faith in his claim (inasmuch as he had been in their district for quite some time and had told them nothing of the sort), the priest went to a certain house of the Order of Cluny called Bromholm,⁵⁵ which was rather poor and lacking all worldly goods, and he offered them the aforesaid Cross on the condition that they provide for the needs of his sons. And he recounted to them the entire course of events regarding the Cross's translation. They received the Holy Cross with great joy and reverence⁵⁶ and supported the boys by accepting them [into the house].

Following this, many great signs and miracles were manifested in the aforesaid locality through the power of the Holy Cross because people from all the ends of Britain piously came there with

⁵³ Weybourne Priory in Norfolk (also known as the priory of Saint Mary and All Saints) was a small and quite poor Augustinian house that was founded in 1199.

⁵⁴ Canon law notwithstanding, England still had some married clerics at this time.

⁵⁵ The priory of Saint Andrew at Bromholm was founded in 1113 and became a dependency of Cluny in 1195.

⁵⁶ In 1223 according to Roger of Wendover (note 51).

offerings for the sake of paying reverence to that Holy Cross, and they brought with them the sick, who were afflicted with various ailments. Many of them, in proportion to their faith and devotion, were totally freed of their ailments; others experienced some remedy to some extent. Because people saw the signs and wonders and heard from others about those things that the Lord was working there through the power of the Cross, the flow and movement of peoples from all sorts of cultures to that place became as great as had already been the case for quite a while at Saint Thomas⁵⁷ and Saint Edmund's.⁵⁸ And so the aforementioned priest died before these miracles could circulate about, and he was buried among the canons of Wabrune, to whom he had given a certain small piece of this same Cross. Likewise, there were also miracles in that place and a throng of pilgrims. Consequently, out of the poor house of Bromholm, which was scarcely known by anyone, save for natives of the area, there arose a distinguished and quite famous house, renowned especially for its provisions⁵⁹ and hospitality, and out of a house of dilapidated buildings, there arose new and distinguished architecture.⁶⁰

Therefore, one should not wonder or be skeptical if, from the presence and touch of the wood of the Lord's Cross, oftentimes various miracles take place among those who rightly and unhesitatingly are believers regarding the power of the Holy Cross, inasmuch as nearly all of the sacraments of the Church and the miracles that are performed by righteous men come to pass through the sign of the Holy Cross, even though that precious wood is not there at hand. For on many occasions we mark ourselves with that most holy sign for our protection, undoubtedly a powerful defense against invisible enemies, through which their power is weakened, their strength is sapped, their presence is put to flight, and imminent danger is often avoided.

⁵⁷ The cathedral of Canterbury, where the bones of Saint Thomas Becket lay.

⁵⁸ The Benedictine abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds, which housed the relics of King Saint Edmund, who had been killed by the Danes in 870.

⁵⁹ Presumably food offered to poor pilgrims.

⁶⁰ Cf. what Gunther of Pairis says about the new fame and prosperity of Pairis after Abbot Martin enriched it with Constantinopolitan relics: *HC* in Orth, 109 (Andrea, *Capture*, 67).

2. ALBERIC OF TROIS FONTAINES, *CHRONICLE*

The year 1193:....Isaac, or Isach, was emperor at Constantinople. Regarding him, we related above under the year 1167 how he rose to power.¹ In any event, he had a brother called Kyralexius, surnamed Andronicus,² whom he had redeemed from the pagans in the third year of captivity.³ He had also made this same brother a seneschal⁴ and handed over to him a fortress called the "Lion Mouth,"⁵ with taxes from its port⁶ to be handed over to himself.⁷ From this he⁸ remitted daily to the imperial sc 4,000 pounds of silver. Exalted in such a manner, he contemplated evil in his heart against his brother the emperor. By means of promises and gifts, he attracted some Greek nobles to the plan and vigorously seduced them to support an imperial coup against his brother.⁹ These men were Livernas and Laufage, Nicholas, Morcu us and Constantius, Acharias, Peter of Navarre, and Synagun Kartaginensis.¹⁰

¹ Alberic, *Chronica*, MGH SS, 23:850, relates how Isaac seized the throne from Andronicus Comnenus, but this occurred in 1185, not in 1167 as Alberic states.

² Their family name was Angelus, but their father's Christian name was Andronicus. Andronicus was also the given name of Isaac's imperial predecessor: Andronicus I Comnenus (r. 1183-1185), who was deposed and then tortured and executed at Isaac's command (note 1).

³ See Hugh of Saint Pol and Ralph of Coggeshall. Alexius was captured in 1186 and released in 1187, returning to Constantinople aboard a Genoese ship (see note 84).

⁴ Alexius bore the title *sebastokrator*: Nicetas, *Historia*, 422 (Magoulias, *O City*, 232). This was Byzantium's highest title after that of *autokrator* (emperor).

⁵ *Buccam-leonis*: the Bucoleon, or Great Palace. No other known source records this putative gift.

⁶ The harbor of Justinian, which was located along that side of the city washed by the Sea of Marmara.

⁷ Emperor Isaac, as the next sentence makes clear.

⁸ Alexius.

⁹ The coup that is related here happened in 1195 not 1193.

¹⁰ According to Nicetas, *Historia*, 451 (Magoulias, *O City*, 247), the chief co-conspirators were: Theodore Branas, George Palaeologos, John Petraliphas, Constantine Raoul, Manuel Kantakouzenos, and many others. Livernas (whom Geoffrey of Villehardouin called Vernas) was Theodore Branas (note 13), and Morcu us, of course, was Mourt-zophlos. Synagun Kartaginensis might be a very poor transliteration of Manuel Kan-

Having sent for Isaac under false pretenses, as though they were about to deliberate on some weighty matter, they bound him and threw him in prison with his eyes gouged out. They likewise placed his son, named Alexius, in another jail under a certain steward. When Andronicus desired to kill Alexius, that steward sent him to Philip, duke of Swabia, who was married to the sister of that same Alexius.¹¹ And so this Andronicus usurped the imperial throne for nine years.¹² Furthermore, the man called Livernas maintained, in place of a wife, the sister of the king of France, the empress,¹³ who was spending her bride s gift and whom Alexius, the son of Manuel should have married.¹⁴ He¹⁵ had not married her in solemn nuptials because she had, in the manner of her clan,¹⁶ squandered her first bride s gift.¹⁷ Indeed, we shall speak in its [proper] place of how he¹⁸ later legitimately wedded her¹⁹ and about the daughter whom he begot from her.

takouzenos; likewise, Constantius might be Constantine Raoul, and Nicholas might be Nicholas Kannavos (Canabus), who was proclaimed emperor in early 1204. The other co-conspirators whom Alberic names are unknown. Regarding Peter of Navarre, see note 79.

¹¹ According to Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 536-537 (Magoulias, *O City*, 294-295), Alexius III had released his nephew from captivity, so that the young man could travel with him on a campaign. Given this freedom, Alexius the Younger fled Constantinople with the help of a Pisan ship s captain and went to Sicily, from which his sister Irene summoned him to her husband Philip s court.

¹² 1195-1203.

¹³ Agnes-Anna, daughter of King Louis VII of France, sister of King Philip II, aunt of Louis of Blois, and wife of Emperors Alexius II (r. 1180-1183) and Andronicus I and later of Theodore Branas (Livernas).

¹⁴ Alberic appears confused here. The eleven- or twelve-year-old Alexius II, who had succeeded his father Emperor Manuel I, did marry Agnes-Anna in 1180. Farel, *Conquête*, 53, note 1, errs when he states that the young Alexius II had, instead, married Irene, daughter of the future Emperor Andronicus Comnenus. Irene was married to Alexius II s illegitimate half-brother, also named Alexius Comnenus: Nicetas, *Historia*, 309 (Magoulias, *O City*, 171).

¹⁵ Presumably Alexius II.

¹⁶ An apparent criticism of the French royal family.

¹⁷ Presumably the wealth she brought from France when she was wed around the age of eleven to the teen-aged Alexius II.

¹⁸ Livernas/Branas.

¹⁹ If we can believe Clari, the empress was already married to Branas in July 1203 when the crusaders first entered Constantinople and sought an audience with her: Clari, *Conquête*, 54, sec. LIII. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:214 and 227, secs. 403 and 413, simply notes in passing that *le Vernas* (Branas) had married the sister of the king of France, without mentioning when or the circumstances.

The year 1199:....In those days Master Fulk arose out of the city of Paris. He was a priest of a certain village, namely Neuilly, which lay not far from that city. Already now for two years he was regarded as a preacher of great renown in whom resided an ardent energy directed against married priests and public usurers, and against these his preaching was especially aimed in a strong and very bitter assault. Certain people say that some miracles were effected through him, most of all at the founts that he blessed. Yet in this matter some were scandalized because he collected tremendous wealth under the pretext of assisting the land of Jerusalem²⁰ and because he was irascible beyond measure. But a letter and commission from the Supreme Pontiff supported him,²¹ and many doubtlessly ceased practicing usury, and a good deal of usurious profit was returned. He also had disciple-preachers, and, let me to come to the point briefly, through both his and his disciples' efforts, these nobles, who had abandoned King Philip while King Richard was alive, were signed with the Cross: namely, Count Baldwin of Flanders, Count Louis of Blois, the counts Geoffrey of Perche²² and Hugh of Saint Pol, and certain others. And at the hands of these men the story of Constantinople unfolded. Master Fulk also established the nunnery of Saint Antoine in Paris for `public women who had turned away from sin.²³

The year 1201: Around Pentecost, Count Thibault died in Cham-

²⁰ Gutsch, `Twelfth Century, 205, and O'Brien, `Fulk, 131-132, deal with these charges. Cf. the *DC*.

²¹ If it ever existed, the official papal commission is lost. As Gutsch, `Twelfth Century, 202-203, and O'Brien, `Fulk, 128-129, have pointed out, Reg. 1:398 (above) is not a commission to preach the crusade; it merely authorizes Fulk to enlist monks and regular canons as preaching associates. O'Brien thinks it probable Fulk received a now-lost commission; Gutsch is less certain. Brown, `Cistercians, 65-66, especially note 13, thinks it likely that he received a commission by mid-September 1198 prior to the issuance of Reg. 1:398.

²² Count Geoffrey III died in April 1202 before embarking on the crusade: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 104.

²³ Fulk was also credited with arranging dowries for former prostitutes who wished to marry: Alphandéry, *Chrétienté*, 275-276.

pagne,²⁴ twenty- ve years of age and signed with the Cross. He sent Count Renard of Dampierre²⁵ with adequate funds as his surrogate to the lands across the sea.

The year 1202:²⁶ There took place an overseas expedition of nobles signed with the Cross who had formerly abandoned King Philip when King Richard attacked, as well as of other barons. These are their names: the bishops Nivelon of Soissons and Garnier of Troyes; Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut, and his brother Henry, surnamed d Angre; Count Hugh of Saint Pol; Count Louis of Blois; Count Geoffrey of Perche; James, a nobleman, son of James the Elder and brother of Walter of Avesnes;²⁷ two men from Champagne who are called de Champlitte, Odo and William, son of Odo;²⁸ Geoffrey, marshal of Champagne,²⁹ and his nephew Geoffrey, named de Villehardouin;³⁰ Othon of la Roche, a Burgundian by birth;³¹ and many others from France, Flanders, and Burgundy, and that man called Count Renard of Dampierre. Joining them was Boniface, the noble marquis of Montferrat, whose brothers were William and Conrad, who had ruled over lands across the sea: William at Jaffa and Conrad at Tyre.³² Consequently, all those men came to Venice to arrange how they might go by sea all the way to Constantinople by traveling around Greece.³³ Meanwhile, while the ships were being prepared, with

²⁴ Thibaut III of Champagne and Brie (1179-1201): Longnon, *Compagnons*, 11-13. Pentecost fell on 13 May; Thibault died on 24 May.

²⁵ Renard II, lord (but not count) of Dampierre; Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne. 29-31, notes 50, 53, 54 and 57, and Longnon, *Compagnons*, 60-63. See also below.

²⁶ Note that under this heading Alberic does not distinguish between events that occurred in 1202 and those that took place in 1203.

²⁷ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 153-154.

²⁸ Despite what Alberic seems to imply, the men were brothers, sons of Count Hugh I of Champagne: *ibid.*, 209-212; see also Reg. 6:99. Odo is mentioned in the *DC* as one of two men who took charge of the deceased Fulk's crusade funds.

²⁹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, crusade historian: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 26-32.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 32-41. This younger Geoffrey of Villehardouin (d. ca. 1229) left the host at Venice and sailed directly to Syria, a detail his uncle, who otherwise castigates the so-called deserters who left the main body of the army, fails to mention.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

³² See *FC*, 27-30.

³³ Note how Alberic assumes Constantinople was the primary objective from the start.

cunning mind the Venetians made those pilgrims come to a certain small island, which is named after Saint Nicholas, and they con-
ned them there. They did not allow them to leave until those same pilgrims swore that they would forcibly capture along with them the city of Zara, which had been hostile to the Venetians for a long time. They so swore. Sailing with them, they besieged Zara, captured it, and handed it over to the Venetians.

In Constantinople at that time, Keyralexius, surnamed Andronicus, usurper of the throne, had removed his brother Isaac from power, had thrown him blinded into prison, and had ordered his son Alexius killed.³⁴ However, through the help of a certain steward, Alexius slipped from his grasp, ed to Philip, duke of Swabia and king of Germany, and hid there with him, because the wife of this same Philip was the sister of Alexius. Therefore, when the Frankish pilgrims had come to capture the city of Zara at the direction of the Venetians, as was noted above, following the advice of the aforementioned King Philip, Alexius sent his letter to them explaining how he had been driven away by his uncle Andronicus. With many entreaties and promises, he fashioned the following course of action: If he were restored to his imperial patrimony by them, he would prepare sufficient amounts of provisions, ships, and other things necessary for the relief of the Holy Land.

Whereupon our noblemen consulted Pope Innocent about these matters through envoys whom they sent to Rome.³⁵ He freely agreed to this affair,³⁶ wished them well, and pardoned their transgression, in which they had seized the city of Zara from the king of Hungary on behalf of the Venetians. Having received his reply, they sent for Alexius and prepared the ships. The doge of Venice, Enrico, a very wise man, was allied with the aforementioned nobles, along with his people. In addition, the bishop of Bethlehem,³⁷ Master John, bishop-elect of Acre,³⁸ and one bishop from Saxony, Lord Conrad of Halberstadt, were joined with him.³⁹ And so, all

³⁴ See note 11. There is no evidence that Alexius III planned to kill Prince Alexius.

³⁵ The army's envoys had left for Rome, in order to seek papal absolution, before the German messengers reached the encampment at Zara.

³⁶ Hardly. See, among other evidence to the contrary, Reg. 6:101.

³⁷ Peter, who was actually bishop-elect.

³⁸ John Faicete.

³⁹ These three clerics, who had set sail from Venice with the army, were not part of the doge's entourage.

added together numbered around 60,000.⁴⁰ However, Count Renard of Dampierre, with the others remaining at Zara, departed from Rome and crossed the sea,⁴¹ as he had sworn to the dying count of Champagne. Arriving in the land of Syria, he waged war against Sanguinus, prince of Aleppo,⁴² who captured him.⁴³ He remained in that captivity for thirty years.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Count Simon of Montfort,⁴⁵ certain other nobles, and the abbot of La Trappe⁴⁶ crossed the sea with that same Renard, but they were not captured with him.

All those mentioned above, however, sailed with favorable winds beyond Zara to Spalato⁴⁷ in Dalmatia, known in antiquity as the city of Salona, followed by Durazzo and Epirus,⁴⁸ which is across from Brindisi,⁴⁹ and they came to a fortress called Corfu.⁵⁰ Its inhabitants promised to surrender themselves to them, once they had captured the city of Constantinople. And many others promised this. From there, following the line of the sea coast, they came to Andrevilla⁵¹ and after that to Mischenas.⁵² Here it should be noted that from Durazzo all the way to the port of Andreville they moved in a direction away from Constantinople as far as the lay of the land is concerned,⁵³ although they drew closer as far as sea lanes are concerned. Therefore, following that curving of the sea coast,

⁴⁰ Most likely closer to 20,000.

⁴¹ Alberic seems to imply that Renard was one of the envoys from the army to the pope. This is not true. Actually, Dampierre never joined the army. He sailed directly from Apulia to Syria: Queller, Compton, and Campbell, "Neglected Majority," 443-446.

⁴² Al-Zahir Ghazi (r. 1186-1216), son of Saladin. Note Alberic's colorful transliteration of his name; *sanguinus* means "blood."

⁴³ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:30. secs. 230-231, confirms this capture.

⁴⁴ In a later portion of his *Chronicle*, Alberic states Dampierre returned to France in 1232: MGH SS, 23:930. See Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne," 30, note 53.

⁴⁵ Longnon, *Compagnons*, 113-114.

⁴⁶ Not so. It was Adam, abbot of Perseigne: Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne," 30-32.

⁴⁷ Modern Split in Croatia.

⁴⁸ Durazzo (classical Dyrrachium; today Durrës) was a port city in the region of Epirus in the western Balkans. Epirus was roughly modern-day Albania.

⁴⁹ A port city in southeastern Italy—therefore, across the Adriatic.

⁵⁰ The city of Corfu on the island of Corfu (modern Kérkira).

⁵¹ Modern Andravída in the northwestern Peloponnesus (or the Morea, as it was known to the crusaders).

⁵² This can refer either to the port of Methone (today Methóni) or Messenia, a region of the southwestern Peloponnesus in which Methone was located.

⁵³ True, inasmuch as they were sailing south around the Greek Peninsula, and Constantinople lay to the east.

they passed by the island of Moncion,⁵⁴ that is Sicionia,⁵⁵ and Achaea,⁵⁶ rst traveling past the city of Argos, then Corinth and Athens,⁵⁷ and a certain island known as Monemvasia,⁵⁸ and they put in at the city of Negroponte, which is across from Thebes.⁵⁹ They also left behind on their right the very famous island of Crete and the city of Rhodes,⁶⁰ along with the rest of the Cyclades Islands;⁶¹ next they passed by on their left Thessalonika,⁶² Phillipi,⁶³ Messilopolim,⁶⁴ and Margueria.⁶⁵ From there, across from Troy or the Troad, which was on their right, they came to the port below Bodekave,⁶⁶ where they provisioned themselves with food. From

⁵⁴ More commonly known as Sapientsa (today Sapienza); see note 55.

⁵⁵ Moncion has never been known as Sicionia. Indeed, Sikionía, is a city in the northern Peloponnesus on the Gulf of Corinth and nowhere near Sapientsa. Alberic makes this same mistake under the year 1205 when discussing the lands conquered by Geoffrey I of Villehardouin.

⁵⁶ Achaea was in classical times and is today the region of the northern Peloponnesus. To the Latins after 1204, however, it was the entire Peloponnesus, or the Morea, which comprised the post-Fourth Crusade principality of Achaea. Here, Alberic probably means the whole peninsula.

⁵⁷ This succession is correct as one travels up the western coast of the Greek mainland, although one wonders if the crusaders pressed as far inland as Argos in their re-provisioning of themselves. These three cities also would have been reached after, not before, the fleet sailed past Sapientsa, but see note 58.

⁵⁸ It is not an island but rather a city in the southeastern Peloponnesus. The fleet would have passed it before Argos, Corinth, and Athens.

This passage as written is confusing, which leads one to wonder if Alberic actually meant: `following that curving of the sea coast, they passed by the island of Moncion, that is Sicionia, and Achaea; rst traveling past the city of Argos, [they] then [passed by] Corinth and Athens, and a certain island known as Monemvasia. Although the main verb *dimiserunt* appears but once, perhaps it is meant to be understood twice.

⁵⁹ The city of Negroponte (modern Khalkís) on the island of Negroponte (classical Euboea; today Évvoia) does lie across from that region of Boetia in which Thebes is located.

⁶⁰ The islands of Crete and Rhodes were far to their south and southwest (their right) and were never sighted if they followed this northern itinerary that hugged the Greek coast.

⁶¹ True; the Cyclades lay to their east and southeast as they traveled around the Greek coast. As the next several stops on this itinerary indicate, the person or persons who served as Alberic's source did not sail to the Cycladic island of Andros with the squadron that detoured southward from Negroponte in order to carry Prince Alexius there (see the *GeH*, note 73).

⁶² Today Thessaloniki, it was the major city of Thessaly in northeast of Greece.

⁶³ An inland city in Thessaly that lay east of Thessalonika. The mention of inland cities suggests the fleet stopped while its members roamed inland on re-provisioning/pillaging expeditions.

⁶⁴ An inland city also known as Mosynopolis, near modern Xánthi.

⁶⁵ Hard by Gallipoli in what is today European Turkey.

⁶⁶ The fleet put in at the port of Abydos, which is located at the narrowest point

there they passed through the Arm of Saint George, which according to the ancients is called the Sea of Propontis⁶⁷ because it precedes the Pontus—Pontus being the particular name of that great sea that lies between Constantinople and Russia.⁶⁸ They also passed by some cities on their left—Maditon,⁶⁹ Galippa,⁷⁰ Rossa,⁷¹ Rodesco,⁷² Heraclea,⁷³ which is a metropolis, and Salembria⁷⁴—and the ships put in at a place called Speculum.⁷⁵

From there,⁷⁶ viewing⁷⁷ Constantinople on the other shore, that is, opposite us, they first seized the Tower of Galata, where a chain hung across the harbor, and they broke that chain, which later was sent to Acre. The city of Constantinople, moreover, was four miles in length and around three in width,⁷⁸ and within the walls of the city were around five hundred abbeys or conventual churches. Andronicus, about whom we spoke, drew up eight battalions within the city, each consisting of four thousand soldiers, and Livernas, who was wedded to the sister of King Philip of France, Morculfus, Bocerans, Peter of Navarre,⁷⁹ Constantius, Acharias, Synagon, and

of the Hellespont, or Dardanelles. Nearby is Bozcaada, a small island that lies slightly south of ancient Troy.

⁶⁷ The Sea of Marmara. Actually, the Arm of Saint George is the peninsula located at the end of the Sea of Marmara on which Constantinople is located. See the report of Hugh of Saint Pol, note 64.

⁶⁸ The Black Sea, known as Pontus Euxinus in antiquity.

⁶⁹ Also known as Maydos and Eceabat, it does lie on the left, or European, side of the Dardanelles.

⁷⁰ Indeed, Gallipoli would then come next on the left.

⁷¹ Rhusium (today Kesan) lies far inland, but it is located on the left farther down the Dardanelles from Gallipoli.

⁷² Rodosto, or Tekirdag, on the Sea of Marmara.

⁷³ The ancient city of Heraclea, also called Perinthus and today known as Marmaraeneghis in modern Turkey.

⁷⁴ Selymbria, today Silyvri.

⁷⁵ The fleet initially put in at Chalcedon across the strait from Constantinople on 24 June 1203; note 65 to Hugh of Saint Pol's report. *Speculum*, which means "mirror," seems to be an artistic way of stating that this port city was a mirror image of Constantinople. See note 77.

⁷⁶ On the third day, 26 June, the fleet and army moved a few miles north to Scutari, and it was from there that they launched their attack across the strait onto the north shore of the Golden Horn.

⁷⁷ *Speculantes*: a pun on Speculum.

⁷⁸ See notes 35 and 36 to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicle*.

⁷⁹ Peter of Navarre, who is mentioned above as one of the conspirators in Alexius III's coup, is unknown. There were, of course, significant numbers of Western mercenaries in Constantinople.

Patriarch Sampson⁸⁰ commanded these battalions.⁸¹ Moreover, after Andronicus sent his forces into battle against our men, doubting that he could withstand the prowess of our people and fearing that perhaps his own people would betray him into the hands of the Franks, he ordered ten horses to be loaded with gold and precious gems⁸² and thus fled to the emir of Iconium.⁸³ As we learned later, however, he was captured en route, ransomed by the Genoese, and finally handed over to his son-in-law Lascaris.⁸⁴

Once the Greeks, who were ready to fight, realized that Andronicus had taken flight, they fled into the city and raised the bridge. Our men set up camp on the shore. Miners also dug under the wall, a great part of which collapsed, and our men entered through the breach that had been opened. The Venetians also penetrated into the city half a league and seized many horses, out of which the doge of Venice sent two hundred to the count of Flanders.⁸⁵ Following this, the assembled Greeks, in order to make peace with the

⁸⁰ The patriarch was John X Camaterus, and as far as we know, he commanded no troops.

⁸¹ Several of these were the putative co-conspirators in the deposition of Emperor Isaac (note 10); most are unknown to us. Nicetas Choniates, our best source for what was happening in the city, says nothing about this supposed arrangement of forces.

⁸² Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 547 (Magoulias, *O City*, 299), reports he took 1,000 pounds of gold and gem-encrusted imperial jewelry.

⁸³ Not initially. Emir Ghiyath al-Din Kaikhusraw I, with whom Alexius III had already had chequered relations, had been deposed in 1197 and did not return to power until 1205; Brand, *Byzantium*, 137-138. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 547, 549, and 556 (Magoulias, *O City*, 299, 301, and 304), tells us Alexius first fled to Develt on the Black Sea, where he had prepared a refuge, and from there moved on to Adrianople. Quite a bit later Alexius did make his way to Iconium and was championed by Kaikhusraw against the former emperor's son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, the emperor-in-exile at Nicaea: D. M. Nicol, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires, 1204-61, *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1966), 4, pt. 1:296.

⁸⁴ Not so. The emir of Iconium invaded Lascaris's lands in the spring of 1211 as the champion of the deposed Alexius III (note 83). Lascaris defeated and killed the emir and, in the same battle, captured his father-in-law, Alexius, whom he brought back to Nicaea (see note 137). There Alexius III spent the rest of his days confined in a monastery; Nicol, 'Fourth Crusade, 296. As far as we know, the Genoese were not involved in this affair. Alberic might well have been thinking of Alexius's return to Constantinople in 1187 aboard a Genoese ship (note 3).

⁸⁵ There was no fighting following Alexius III's flight. This is a confused description of the battle of 17 July. Cf. the report of Hugh of Saint Pol. Early on 17 July, the Venetians captured several (Villehardouin says twenty-five) of Constantinople's towers alongside the harbor of the Golden Horn; Villehardouin does mention that the doge sent to the French camp horses that the Venetians had captured from this assault: *Conquête*, 1:176-178, sec. 175.

Franks, agreed to free Isaac from prison and to crown Alexius.⁸⁶ Therefore, once the bridge was lowered and Alexius was led in and crowned along with his father, our men received hospitality throughout the city. The rest of this story is inserted in the section under the year 1204 and in other appropriate places.

The year 1204:....The great city of Constantinople was won by the Franks, and Count Baldwin of Flanders was made emperor, whence arises the verse:

After the course of twelve hundred and four years
The Second Rome fell on the Ides of April.⁸⁷

These are the facts regarding that story that are recorded in a letter from that same Emperor Baldwin. It says:

Alberic now quotes that portion of Emperor Baldwin s encyclical letter to the West (Reg. 7:152) that begins Just as these were not the deeds of humans but of God and ends he declares that from this time forth their liberty will be snatched away from them forever, and this will happen in every respect, unless Alexius is overthrown.

To continue the other story from above: Meanwhile a time of great scarcity besets our people outside the city so that three-day-old bread worth two Parisian denars is worth twenty-six. And behold! A ship out of Brindisi, whose master was known as Lucarius, arrived loaded with provisions. Thereupon they bought up all the food and distributed it equitably. At this point, Alexius s relative⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The Greeks had released and reinstated Isaac II prior to their entering negotiations with the crusaders: *FC*², 131-132.

⁸⁷ 13 April 1204.

⁸⁸ Mourtzouphlos.

called together the Greek leaders and harangued them about the plan to hand over the Blachernae Palace, adding that Alexius was worthless, and should the city be assaulted, he might perhaps hand it over to the Franks. If, however, they wished to make him emperor, he swore he would give them abundant land and great wealth. And so he allured and seduced them with such enticements that they agreed and paid him homage. Without delay he gathered together about fifteen thousand men and went up to assault the Blachernae.⁸⁹

A messenger informed Alexius of this. He was terrified but, nevertheless, gathered together as many men as he could. Thus armed against his enemies, he came down and sought out Morcuus with a lance, and with the others fighting so heatedly, a signifiant slaughter of citizens ensued. Finally, Morcuus captured and incarcerated Alexius.⁹⁰ Upon hearing this, Isaac was saddened because Alexius had not kept faith with the Franks, and he died from excessive grief.⁹¹ On the other hand, Morcuus, having convened the other Greeks who were here and there about the city, hastened to have them swear homage to him. On the following night, thinking that Alexius might, by some chance, be released from captivity, just as earlier Isaac had been released, he sent his servants to place a rope about his neck and to hand the end of the rope to him. And so, drawing the noose of the rope, he cruelly strangled him.⁹²

⁸⁹ According to Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 563 (Magoulias, *O City*, 308), Mourtzouphlos did secure the support of many kinsmen, the eunuch in charge of the treasury, and the Varangian guard, but there is no record of his leading a force of 15,000 men in an assault on the palace. See the next note.

⁹⁰ According to Nicetas, *ibid.*, in the dead of night, Mourtzouphlos visited Alexius IV and convinced him that his own kinsmen, as well as the Varangian guard and other conspirators, were assaulting his bedchamber. He convinced Alexius to allow him to spirit him away, which he did—right into a foul prison. On the basis of Choniates's account, it seems reasonable to infer that the Varangian guard and the other conspirators raised a ruckus in order to give the appearance of an all-out attack, but Queller and Madden, *FC*², 277, note 110, doubt that such a mock attack took place. Whatever the truth regarding this putative disturbance, there is no evidence of open fighting.

⁹¹ Nicetas Choniates, *ibid.*, 562 (Magoulias, *O City*, 308), informs us that Isaac was already on his deathbed. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:22, sec. 223, asserts that Isaac died as a consequence of the fear he felt upon hearing of his son's capture. Clari, *Conquête*, 61, sec. LXII, mistakenly claims that Mourtzouphlos killed Isaac at the same time he deposed and strangled Alexius IV.

⁹² The coup took place on the night of 27–28 January 1204. The execution took place on the night of 8/9 February: *FC*², 169, and 280, note 147. Our best and closest source, Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 564 (Magoulias, *O City*, 309), reports Mourtzouphlos ordered him strangled and says nothing about his participating in the execution. Cf. the

Once again there was a time of great scarcity within our ranks, and they ate many horses, Although they made many assaults on the city, they were never able to penetrate into it.⁹³ Moreover, three of the doge s knights were hung up on iron hooks by the Greeks and were set a flame by Morcu us, with our men looking on, and they could not be spared from such a horrible death by any prayer or payment.⁹⁴

How the icon was acquired:⁹⁵ Turning away with troubled minds, they set out to plunder food. Up to a thousand men came with Henry,⁹⁶ Baldwin s brother, to a fortress called Philia. Bravely assaulting it, they entered and seized within enough to enable the army to live on for fifteen days. Those, however, who escaped came and informed Morcu us of this matter. Greatly moved by anger, he ordered his people to be made ready to pursue those who had plundered the fortress and also that Patriarch Sampson⁹⁷ accompany him with an icon. On this icon the Majesty of the Lord was wonderfully fashioned, as well as an image of Blessed Mary and the apostles. And relics were set within it: Therein is a tooth that Jesus lost in childhood, and therein is contained a piece of the lance by which He was wounded on the Cross, a portion of the Shroud, and relics from thirty martyrs.⁹⁸ Inasmuch as it was their custom to bear this icon with them into battle, never before had they been bested by the enemy.⁹⁹ And so Morcu us personally commanded some of the Greek nobles, lest perchance, upon returning, he be prohibited by those who remained behind from entering the city. Consequently, there were ten thousand warriors¹⁰⁰ with him, and going

accounts of the *DC* and Emperor Baldwin (Reg. 7:152).

⁹³ Actually, at this point the crusaders seem to have confined themselves to foraging in the surrounding countryside and did not assault the city.

⁹⁴ Alberic is the only source to mention this. *FC¹*, 140, mentions the story in passing with the disclaimer, "according to Alberic of Trois-Fontaines. *FC²*, relegates it to a note and adds the stronger disclaimer, "according to the usually unreliable Alberic of Trois-Fontaines : 283, note 36.

⁹⁵ Cf. other versions of this story in Reg. 7:152, the *DC*, and Ralph of Coggeshall.

⁹⁶ A gure that Alberic got from Baldwin s letter to the West. *FC²*, 278, note 122, surveys the various estimates of Henry s detachment.

⁹⁷ See note 80.

⁹⁸ Of all the Western sources, this is the only one to provide a detailed description of the icon.

⁹⁹ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, 567 (Magoulias, *O City*, 312), states that the emperors reckoned it to be a "fellow general. See Norman Baynes, "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople, *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949): 165-177.

¹⁰⁰ Madden and Queller prefer Clari s estimate of 4,000 troops to Alberic s 10,000

forth quietly, they hid themselves in a certain overgrown thicket.¹⁰¹

Shortly thereafter our men were divided up into groups of one hundred, and they heard the Greeks noisily advancing. Peter of Navarre had been given command of the advance guard by Morcu us. In his pride he rode forth unarmed, his head bare except for a golden crown that encircled it. Henry, looking to strike him with a sword, split the man s golden crown, penetrating his skull to the depth of two ngers. Thereupon, also, the Greeks rst rank was broken by the killing onslaught of our men against the opposing enemy. Livernas was struck so hard by someone s sword that his helmet was impressed into his head.¹⁰² Peter of Bracieux¹⁰³ rendered such a blow on the nose-piece of Patriarch Sampson s helmet that he fell to the ground and lost the icon, which Peter, dismounting from his horse, boldly snatched up. Our men hastily gathered around him and repulsed the Greeks with a mighty surge. Morcu us was hit so hard there that he fell over his horse s neck. Consequently, the Greeks ed from the battle as quickly as they could. In that battle not a single one of our knights was killed, and they set out to return to the army with joyful light steps.

Again, it is written regarding this victory in the aforementioned letter of the emperor:

Again, Alberic quotes Baldwin s letter to the West, beginning With our men roaming far a eld to forage food and ending This our victorious men donated to the Cistercian Order.

and the *DC* s 15,000: *FC*², 278, note 126. McNeal mistakenly translates Clari s *si st monter bien dusques a .iiij.m. hommes a armes* (*Conquête*, 65, sec. LXVI) as "he got together a good thousand mounted men at arms": *Conquest*, 89.

¹⁰¹ Queller and Madden characterize the description of the battle that follows as "very colorful...most of which is pure invention": *FC*², 278, note 128. Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, 65-67, sec. LXVI, provides a far more believable account.

¹⁰² If Branas/Livernas was wounded in this fray, he certainly survived, as Alberic makes clear later on.

¹⁰³ A vassal of Louis of Blois, Peter was almost always where the ghting was the thickest: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 91-98.

The course of the story continues: Indeed, the Greeks returning to the city said, one after another, that they had been put to shame by Morcu us. They assembled at Sancta Sophia, talked it over, and made Nicholas emperor.¹⁰⁴ Upon hearing about this, Morcu us attacked them with his forces. Battle was joined, and a great slaughter and uproar ensued, which our men heard. With the coming of night, indeed, Morcu us seduced away the supporters of Nicholas with promises and gifts, so that by dawn Nicholas did not have half the support from the previous day. In the end, he was captured by Morcu us, incarcerated, and eventually killed.

The letter follows:

Alberic now continues the story of the second capture of Constantinople by quoting Baldwin s letter to the West from With the Greek clergy and people crying out that we be wiped off the face of the Earth through But in the night he¹⁰⁵ secretly turns tail, defeated.

Alberic: In his ight, however, he came to Andronicus, who was mentioned above. When he heard the things done by him, he had the man blinded.¹⁰⁶ In that same year he was returned to Constantinople and leaped from the highest story of a certain column, thus he died, broken and battered.¹⁰⁷ The letter follows:

Alberic quotes Baldwin s letter from When this was discovered, the bewildered Greek populace sets about replac-

¹⁰⁴ Wrong chronological order. The election of Nicholas Kannavos (Canabus) took place on 27 January. The icon was lost in battle around 5 or 6 February: *FC*², 161-167.

¹⁰⁵ Alexius V.

¹⁰⁶ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2: 78-80, secs. 270-271, deals with this in detail.

¹⁰⁷ Alexius V Mourtzouphlos was hurled off the column of Theodosius the Great. The notes that accompany Chapters 20 and 21 in my translation of Gunther of Pairis s *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* cover this execution and the column in detail: Andrea, *Capture*, 115-117 and 175-176, notes 278-287.

**ing the emperor through This was done by the Lord,
and it is a miracle above all miracles in our eyes.**

Alberic: What is added here has been taken from another account.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, upon talking it over, the remaining Greeks came unarmed to our men. With our clergy, who benevolently offered them guarantees of safety, first begging mercy for them, the Greeks humbly handed over their swords to them.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, on the fourth night after the city was taken, namely the fifteenth day before the Kalends of May¹¹⁰ the twelfth night following the full moon there was a plain-to-see full eclipse of the moon in a clear sky.

Twelve electors were decided upon by common agreement: namely our two bishops,¹¹¹ Nivelon of Soissons and Garnier of Troyes; also a third bishop from Saxony, Lord Conrad of Halberstadt; the bishop of Bethlehem,¹¹² delegated by Apostolic authority;¹¹³ Master John, bishop-elect of Acre; and Abbot Peter of Lucedio in Lombardy, who afterwards became patriarch of Antioch. After first praying on Misericordia Sunday,¹¹⁴ these six, along with six Venetian barons, nominated Count Baldwin of Flanders on the advice of the doge of Venice and elected him emperor. Eight days later¹¹⁵ he was enthroned,¹¹⁶ decked out, as custom dictates, in golden vestments into which were woven precious gems and also red shoes. The city was decorated with banners, streamers,

¹⁰⁸ This source is unknown today.

¹⁰⁹ Apparently to the clergy.

¹¹⁰ 16 April 1204.

¹¹¹ Alberic's French perspective leaps out here, inasmuch as Nivelon and Garnier were the only two consecrated French bishops with the army.

¹¹² The bishop-elect of Bethlehem, Peter.

¹¹³ Alberic either confused Peter of Bethlehem with Cardinal Peter Capuano or bishop-elect Peter had served as Cardinal Peter Capuano's nuncio to the army at Zara (the nuncio is referred to by Boniface of Montferrat in Reg. 6:100).

¹¹⁴ 9 May 1204.

¹¹⁵ If one counts the 9th as the first day. He was enthroned on 16 May.

¹¹⁶ Alberic's detailed description of Baldwin's coronation is based on an unknown source. The most detailed extant description of the coronation is Robert of Clari, *Conquête*, 93-95, sec. XCVI. Robert does note that the emperor wore gem-encrusted shoes and that Count Hugh bore the imperial sword but he also states that Marquis Baldwin bore the crown, not the gilded mantel that appears in Alberic's account.

and precious tapestries. The count of Saint Pol bore the imperial sword before him and the marquis the gilded mantle, all the way to Sancta Sophia. The imperial garments and the shoes, which were made of red leather with precious gems, were consecrated. Then Emperor Baldwin sent for the countess of Flanders, and when she had come to him and been made pregnant by him,¹¹⁷ she departed for the Lands across the Sea. There, when she was in Acre, the prince of Antioch visited her and rendered homage to her in place of her husband, in her role as empress of Constantinople.¹¹⁸ Having received this, she died in Acre.

In the year 1205....Emperor Baldwin ruled in Constantinople only one year. Beyond the Arm of Saint George at Nicaea, from which the Council of Nicaea takes its name,¹¹⁹ Count Louis likewise reigned for one year.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the marquis of Montferrat was made king of Thessalonika.¹²¹ Othon of la Roche, son of Pons of la Roche, a certain Burgundian nobleman, became duke of Athens and Thebes by a certain wondrous turn of events.¹²² Geoffrey of Villehardouin, son of John and nephew of Geoffrey, the marshal of Champagne, took the island of Moncion, that is Sicionia,¹²³ and Achaea¹²⁴ and the city of Mycenaea.¹²⁵ Granted that the Greek cities of Lacedemonia, Corinth, Adrianople, Mosynopolis, and Phi-

¹¹⁷ Wrong. See note 42 to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicle*.

¹¹⁸ Alberic is the only source to record that Bohemond V of Antioch swore fealty to Baldwin in this manner. There has been some debate concerning Alberic's reliability on this point, but the discovery of a supporting source has apparently resolved the issue: Wolff, "Baldwin," 289.

¹¹⁹ Convened under Emperor Constantine in 325.

¹²⁰ Louis of Blois received the duchy of Nicaea in the division of the empire but never took control of his fief. The count was killed on 14 April 1205 at the Battle of Adrianople: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:112, sec. 304, and 2:170, sec. 360.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 2:82-108, secs. 275-300.

¹²² Longnon, *Compagnons*, 215-216; *idem*, "The Frankish States in Greece," *A History of the Crusades*, 2:238-242.

¹²³ See notes 54 and 55.

¹²⁴ See note 56. Alberic employs this same phrase "the island of Moncion, that is Sicionia, and Achaea" when plotting the crusade fleet's progress toward Constantinople.

¹²⁵ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:134-140, secs. 325-330, deals in detail with his nephew's adventures in the Peloponnesus. See also Longnon, "Frankish States," 237-248, *passim*.

lippopolis were acquired by our men, nevertheless, they were afterwards lost.¹²⁶ It was likewise with a certain island not far from Constantinople beyond the straits which is called Cyzicus, or Kisicum, that is, Escisia.¹²⁷ It was a metropolitan see, of which Troy, or the Troad, was a suffragan bishopric. It was likewise for the island of Mytilene,¹²⁸ which is two-days travel from there and has an archbishop. Moreover, Prince Livernas was brought there so that he could join in legitimate marriage with the empress, the sister of the king of France, with whom he had consorted up to this time without legal nuptials.¹²⁹ They also gave his daughter to a nobleman, Narjot of Toucy,¹³⁰ cousin to Guy of Dampierre.¹³¹

In Bulgaria, which lies between Hungary and Greece, a certain Ioannitsa,¹³² lord of Bulgaria and Vlachia, ruled at the city of Tirnovo. Assuming for himself the title of `emperor, he declared war on Emperor Baldwin and the Latins, and challenged them to battle.¹³³ Baldwin led an army against him but alas! he was not on guard against ambushes and was captured by him by means of deception in swampy marshlands, from which none could escape save those native to the land. Therefore, he was captured there along with his companions and imprisoned in Tirnovo. I cannot say anything for certain about Baldwin's death but simply repeat what was said by a certain Flemish priest.¹³⁴ This man, who passed through

¹²⁶ True, the Latin empire quickly suffered reverses, as well as successes: Longnon, `Frankish States, 235-253.

¹²⁷ Cyzicus was actually an ancient city on the island of Arconnesus (modern Kalpi Dagi) in the southwestern corner of the Sea of Marmara. Captured by the Latins during the winter of 1206-07, it was shortly thereafter recovered by Theodore Lascaris.

¹²⁸ Mytilene is also known as the island of Lesbos (today Lésvos).

¹²⁹ See note 19. Branas was one of very few Greeks who faithfully served the Frankish conquerors, and for his service he was named lord of Adrianople and Demotica in 1205: Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 2:237, sec. 423.

¹³⁰ Narjot I, baillie and regent of the Latin empire of Constantinople (1228-1231; 1238-1241).

¹³¹ Guy of Dampierre-le-Château, son of Margaret II, the daughter of Emperor Baldwin I (see Ralph of Coggeshall, note 42)? That Guy of Dampierre was co-count of Flanders from 1251 to 1279, and count from 1279 to 1304. Farel, *Conquête*, 2:215, note 3, accepts Alberic's testimony at face value.

¹³² Ioannitsa (Little John) is the derogatory nick-name given Kalojan by the Byzantines.

¹³³ It was much more complex than this; essentially, Baldwin miscalculated and spurned Kalojan's offer of an alliance, treating him, instead, like a rebellious vassal of the empire: Nicol, `Fourth Crusade, 290-293.

¹³⁴ Wolff, `Baldwin, 290-291, points out that the following story of Baldwin's demise is undoubtedly pure fabrication. Stories such as this began to circulate after 1225

the city of Tirnovo en route home from Constantinople, reported this: Because Ioannitsa was attentive to other women, his wife dispatched a seductive message to the emperor in jail in which she said that if he wished to marry her and take her with him to Constantinople, she would immediately free him from jail and captivity. When the emperor rejected these promises, regarding them as worthless, she brought a fresh complaint to her husband. She said that the emperor promised her that if she would free him from captivity, he would bring her with him to Constantinople and crown her as empress.¹³⁵ And so, one evening when Ioannitsa was drunk, he ordered the emperor brought forth and killed in his presence. Thus, by his order, the emperor was cut down with an axe and left for the dogs, and through public edict, his death was ordered to be kept a secret. The lord archbishop John of Mytilene and a monk, Master Albert, who was passing through Tirnovo in that same year, also agree on this that he was killed in Tirnovo. The aforementioned priest from Flanders added that a certain woman from Burgundy, who was staying in Tirnovo, one night saw lights illuminating the corpse of a slain man,¹³⁶ and given that she wished to do it, she gave it over for decent burial. The aforesaid priest, who spent a night as the guest of this woman, reported that, as he had heard from her, certain miracles had taken place there, and the husband of this woman had been cured there of toothache and fever.

A certain cunning Greek, by the name of Lascaris, had told Emperor Baldwin that if he sent him with an army across the Arm of Saint George, he would subdue all of that Greek homeland for him. When he had been sent, he conferred in Greek with the Greeks, and set himself up as emperor at Nicaea.¹³⁷ Likewise, a certain Michael, when dispatched against Dyrrachium¹³⁸ in that

when a hermit pretending to be Baldwin appeared in Flanders. Alberic's account of the pseudo-Baldwin appears in MGH SS, 23:915-916.

¹³⁵ Cf. the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife: Gen. 39:7-20.

¹³⁶ Cf. the legend of the ninth-century discovery of the relics of Saint James at Compostella.

¹³⁷ Theodore I Lascaris, whom we saw above (note 84), resisted the Latins from the start. He was crowned emperor-in-exile at Nicaea in 1208, a position he held until his death in 1222.

¹³⁸ Again confused. Dyrrachium, or Durazzo, was held by the Venetians until captured and occupied by Michael Ducas around 1214.

region,¹³⁹ made himself duke by consent of the Greeks.¹⁴⁰ They are those men whom the Lord left on Earth, so that through them a trial might be made for Israel:¹⁴¹ namely, the Latin people. Furthermore, in place of Baldwin, his brother Henry became emperor of Constantinople.¹⁴² For twelve years¹⁴³ he waged many wars and enjoyed frequent triumphs over his enemies.

Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, returned to Gaul from Constantinople, bearing with him many relics of the saints.¹⁴⁴ While en route, he died in Apulia and was buried in the church of Saint Nicholas in Bari.¹⁴⁵ In his will, indeed, he bequeathed the relics that he had in his possession to various churches. To the church of Châlons-sur-Marne he donated an elbow from the arm of Saint Stephen,¹⁴⁶ and Bishop Garnier sent the head of Philip the Apostle to Troyes.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ Durazzo is on the Adriatic, in northwestern Greece, or Epirus, and not in Anatolia, where Nicaea is located.

¹⁴⁰ Michael I Ducas Angelus Comnenus, cousin of Isaac II, had originally been in the service of Boniface of Montferrat. He subsequently deserted the marquis and seized Epirus, or northwestern Greece, which he held until his death around 1214/1215: Robert Lee Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261," in *A History of the Crusades*, 2:201, 206, 208-210; Nicol, "Fourth Crusade," 296-300.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Judges 3:1-5.

¹⁴² Already serving as regent for his lost brother, Henry was crowned emperor on 20 August 1206.

¹⁴³ He was in his twelfth year of ruling when he died in 1216.

¹⁴⁴ See the Anonymous of Soissons.

¹⁴⁵ Alberic makes it sound as though Nivelon died while returning to France from Constantinople; in fact, he died in Apulia in 1207, while traveling back to the East.

¹⁴⁶ A letter from Nivelon of 1205 to the canons of the church of Châlons concerns this donation: Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:65-67.

¹⁴⁷ An inscription on a reliquary from the cathedral church of Troyes concerns the presence of this relic: Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:178.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DC* *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, ed. and trans. Alfred J. Andrea. "The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade: An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation. *Historical Reflections* 19 (1993): 131-149.
- DHL* Hugh of Saint Pol, "Letter to Henry of Louvain," in *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH Script. rer. Germ., 18:203-208.
- FC¹* Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia, 1977).
- FC²* Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd. ed. (Philadelphia, 1997).
- GeH* *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*. Ed. Ludwig Weiland in MGH SS, 23:73-123. Trans. Alfred J. Andrea. "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade: Popular Religiosity in the Early Thirteenth Century. *Historical Reflections* 27 (1996): 457-477.
- Gress-Wright David R. Gress-Wright, ed., "The 'Gesta Innocentii III': Text, Introduction and Commentary," Ph.D. diss. (Bryn Mawr, 1981).
- HC* Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Peter Orth (Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994). Trans. and ed. Alfred J. Andrea as *The Capture of Constantinople: The 'Hystoria Constantinopolitana' of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia, 1997).
- MGH Script. rer. Germ. *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 61 vols. (Hanover and Leipzig, 1839-1935).
- MGH SS *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, 32 vols. (Hanover, 1826-1934).
- M/D Hugh of Saint Pol, "Anonymous Letter to the West," in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717), 1:784-788.

- Pertz Hugh of Saint Pol, "Letter to Henry of Louvain, in *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. Karl Pertz, MGH SS, 17:812-814.
- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne et al., 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864).
- Reg. Enregistered papal letter.
Register *Die Register Innocenz III.*, ed. Othmar Hageneder et al. (Graz-Cologne, Rome, Vienna 1964-), vols. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7.
- Reg. Brit.* *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores*, 99 vols. (London, 1858-1896).
- M. A. Script.* Hugh of Saint Pol, "Letter to Henry of Louvain, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738-19004), 18:517-519.
- RHGF* Hugh of Saint Pol, "Letter to Henry of Louvain, in *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856-1857), 1:304-311.
- Urkundenbuch* *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe*. 2 vols. Ed. Gustav Schmidt. 1883; rpt. Osnabruck, 1965.

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LATIN TEXTS OF
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AND THE ANONYMOUS OF SOISSONS

The following editions of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* and the Anonymous of Soissons were originally printed in *Historical Relections/Réflexions historiques*, 19 (1993): 131-138, and 18 (1992): 157-163, respectively. Some minor punctuation changes have been made for this printing.

The *DC* exists in a single parchment codex at Venice's Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: *Cod. Marc. Lat. 1990*, fols. 253r-255v. The Anonymous of Soissons is preserved in a single manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: *MS Lat. 8898*, fols. 211r-213v. Earlier editions of the *DC* are Karl Pertz's 1859 edition in MGH SS, 16: 9-12 (hereafter MGH), and Carl Hopf's better edition in his *Chroniques gréco-romane inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), 86-92 (hereafter H). Alexander Poquet initially edited and printed the Anonymous of Soissons' account in *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis* (Paris, 1856), 265-270 (hereafter P), and Paul Riant reprinted it, with minor corrections, in his 1877 *Exuviae*, 1:3-9 (hereafter R).

*Devastatio Constantinopolitana*¹

253r

Anno ab incarnatione² Domini M^o C^o CI^o I, domino³ Innocentio Romane ecclesiae presidente, Phylippo et Ottone pro imperio Romano decertantibus, magister Petrus cardinalis transalpinavit in Burgundiam,⁴ Campaniam, Franciam,⁵ [et] Flandriam. Nomen crucis predicavit.

¹ In the top margin of fol. 253r another hand has written: *Coronica captionis Constantinopolitanae*.

² incarnatione] incarnationi MS.

³ domino] domno MGH.

⁴ Burgundiam] Burgundia MS.

⁵ Franciam] Frantiam MS H.

Cuius etiam auctoritate magister Fulco,⁶ vir sancte opinionis, finitimas regiones predicando circuivit. Multi fidelium crucem acceperunt. Inter quos hii sunt primi: episcopus Swessionensis, episcopus Trecensis, abbas Vallensis, abbas Losensis, et alli quinque abbates Cisterciensis ordinis; comes Campanie, comes Sancti Pauli,⁷ comes de Blois,⁸ comes Flandrie cum duobus suis fratribus; theutonici episcopi Basilensis [et] Halverstatensis, abbas Parisiensis,⁹ comes Bertoldus, et infinitiva¹⁰ multitudo tam clericorum quam laicorum et monachorum.

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Comes Campanie cum // omnia necessaria preparasset ad eundum, defunctus est. Cuius marchio accepit pecuniam et totum apparatus viae illius, et iuravit quod ille voverat se executurum; unde ductor statim exercitus est electus. Comes de Percha, antequam iter arriperet, obiit. Cuius crucem dominus¹¹ Stephanus, frater eius, accepit. Magister etiam Fulco cum esset in procinctu, mortuus est. Cuius infinitam pecuniam domnus Odo Campaniensis et castellanus de Colcith acceperunt, auctoritate regis Franciae¹² et sapientum, in opus huius sacri exercitus expendendam.

His ergo exercitus cum de diversis mundi partibus in Longobardia colligeretur. Longobardi, habito consilio,¹³ edictum fecerunt ne quis peregrinorum hospitaretur amplius quam per unam noctem et ne eis victualia venderentur, et persecuti sunt eos de civitate in civitatem. Preceperat quoque domnus papa passagium apud Venetias fieri. Quo cum venissent, similiter eiecti sunt de domibus civitatis, et positi sunt in insula beati Nicolai. Ibi, fixis tentoriis, expectaverunt passagium a Kal. Iunii usque ad Kal. Octobris. Sistarius frumenti L solidis vendebatur. Quocienscumque Venetis placuit, preceperunt ut nullus de prefata insula extraheret aliquem peregrinorum, et quasi captivis per omnia eis dominantur. Crevit autem timor magnus in populo. Unde multi in patriam redierunt; multi in Apuliam ad alios portus cucurrerunt et transfretaverunt; minima pars ibi remansit, inter quos adhuc mortalitas mirabilis, ita ut a vivis vix possent mortui sepeliri.

In festo beate Marie Magdalene, domnus Petrus cardinalis Venetias venit, et omnes peregrinos exortatione sue predicationis mirabili

⁶ cuius-Fulco] cuius etiam magister auctoritate Fulco MS.

⁷ Sancti Pauli] S. Pauli MGH H.

⁸ Blois] Glois MS MGH.

⁹ Parisiensis] Pariensis MS MGH.

¹⁰ infinitiva] infinita MGH H.

¹¹ dominus] domnus MGH.

¹² Franciae] Frantiae MS MGH H.

¹³ habito consilio] om. MGH.

modo confortavit.¹⁴ Infirmos, pauperes et mulieres, et omnes personas inbecilles¹⁵ in patriam cum suis litteris remisit. Hoc facto, ipse recessit, et Romam rediit. In assumptione beate Marie, marchio ad exercitum venit, et ductor exercitus est confirmatus. Barones ei omnes iuraverunt. Marchio et omnes barones Venetis iuraverunt se in auxilio eorum staturos per unum annum. Inter hec naves parate sunt et onerate. Fuerunt autem naves XL^a, galie LXII, oxirii centum.

Cepit autem moveri Kal. Octobris. Cum de portu exirent, *Viola* navis domni Stephani de Percha periit. Veneti cum peregrinis ascendentes mare, in Ystriam venerunt. Triestum et Muglam ad dedicionem compulerunt; totam Ystriam, Dalmatiam, [et] Slaviniam tributa reddere coegerunt. Iaderam navigaverunt, in qua iuramentum¹⁶ periit. In festo beati Martini, portum Iadre intraverunt. Iadram ex omni parte, tam in terra quam in aqua, obsederunt. Machinas et magnellos amplius quam CL erexerunt et scalas et turres ligneas et infinita bellica instrumenta. Murum etiam suffoderunt. Quo viso, Iadrenses die XV civitatem reddiderunt, ita ut solis personis salvis omnia sua ponerent in proprietate ducis Venetorum. Dux medietatem ville sibi et suis retinuit. Aliam medietatem dedit peregrinis. Villam sine misericordia spoliaverunt.

Tercio die postquam Iadra intrata est, orta est seditio inter Venetos et peregrinos. In qua seditione fere C homines occisi sunt. Bona ville barones sibi retinuerunt; pauperibus nichil dederunt. Pauperes egestate et fame maxime laboraverunt. Unde cum multum super barones clamarent, impetraverunt naves, que ipsos in Anchonam deferrent, et per licentiam mille discesserunt, preter licentiam quoque amplius quam mille. (Fuit enim edictum ne quis de exercitu extrahere aliquem auderet.) Ex oxiriis autem que istos// portabant, duo perierunt. Exercitus apud Iadram hiemavit. Veneti muros et domos civitatis ita funditus eiecerunt, ut¹⁷ una [rupes] super alteram non remaneret. Cum naves essent in portu Iadre, tres ex navigibus magnis perierunt.

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In circumcissione, venit nuntius regis Phylippi cum litteris eius, rogans marchionem et barones ut sororium suum Alexim imperatorem in negotio suo adiuvarent. Marchio cum omnibus baronibus

¹⁴ confortavit] confortavit MGH H.

¹⁵ inbecilles] imbecilles H.

¹⁶ iuramentum] iumentum MGH.

¹⁷ ut] H reads ita ut in the MS and "corrects" it to ut. Actually, ita is crossed out in the MS.

illi¹⁸ iuravit. Quod cum populus cognovisset se videlicet in Greciam iturum, convenerunt, et facta conspiratione, iuraverunt se nunquam illuc ituros. Unde abbas Vallensis et domnus Symon de Monteforti et Engelrant de Boves recesserunt cum magna multitudine militum et aliorum, et venientes in Ungariam, a rege honorifice sunt suscepti. In palmis, Rainaldus¹⁹ de Monmiral²⁰ in legatione in Syriam missus est. Dominica secunda post pascha, naves a Iadra ceperunt exire. Eodem²¹ tempore venit Alexis imperator de Alemannia. Omnes ville, civitates, et castella de Arraguso usque Corphu eum in pace receperunt. Apud Corphu congregatus est exercitus. In pentecosten, a Corphu recessit – Balduwinus, frater comitis Flandrie, ibi defunctus est – et feliciter Constantinopolim venit, et omnes insule per viam illi servierunt.

In Kal. Iulii, naves Constantinopolim venerunt et vi applicuerunt, imperatore cum toto suo exercitu contradicente. Imperator cum suis fugit in civitatem; nos civitatem obsedimus. In octava apostolorum Petri et Pauli, castrum quod erat in portu ex opposito civitatis vi cepimus, et vix aliquis eorum qui erant in castro aufugit. Peregrini ex parte terrae civitatem obsederunt; Greci multociens cum²² eis sunt congressi, et ex utraque parte multi ceciderunt interfecti. Interim Veneti ex parte maris civitatem infestaverunt per machinas et magnellos et balistas et arcus. In hac acie etiam mortui sunt multi, tam Venetum quam Grecorum. Tunc Veneti scalas mirabiles in navibus suis erexerunt, in qualibet navi unam, et applicantes naves ad murum, per easdem scalas intraverunt. Grecos fugaverunt et ignem miserunt, et magnam partem civitatis combusserunt et spoliaverunt, et sic totum diem illum expenderunt. Veniente nocte, imperator collectis omnibus quos potuit habere, furtim fugit. Die autem sequenti, Greci se et civitatem reddiderunt in manus peregrinorum. Peregrini, portis apertis, intraverunt, et venientes in pallatium regium, quod dicitur Blachernum,²³ Cursac²⁴ in vinculis et carcere invenerunt, quem exoculatum frater ipsius ibi posuerat. Cursac²⁵ liberaverunt, et filio eius Alexi puero coronam imposuerunt. Pro hoc magno beneficio, Alexis iuravit quod per unum annum totum pasceret exercitum, tam Venetos quam peregrinos. Iuravit etiam quod,

¹⁸ illi] illa MGH.

¹⁹ Rainaldus] Kaitialdus MS MGH.

²⁰ Monmiral] Monmirol MGH.

²¹ eodem] et ex eodem H.

²² cum] eum MGH.

²³ Blachernum] Plachernum MS MGH H.

²⁴ Cursac] Lursac MS MGH.

²⁵ Cursac] Lursac MS MGH.

si apud Constantinopolim secum hiemare vellent, ipse in proximo Martio venturo cum ipsis pergeret, accepta cruce cum omnibus que habere posset. De his omnibus premissis obsides dedit. Ita facta est concordia inter Grecos et Latinos.

Contigit autem, in octava beate assumptionis Marie, quod orta est rixa inter Grecos et Latinos. Ex utraque parte convolaverunt ad arma. Crevit multitudo Grecorum; Latini cesserunt, et cum se aliter defendere non possent, ignem apposuerunt. Hoc viso, multi de exercitu advenerunt in auxilium Latinorum, et ignem multiplicaverunt, et fere mediam partem civitatis destruxerunt et spoliaverunt. Barones exercitus partes suas interposuerunt, et iterum pacem fecerunt. Nullus tamen qui de Romano imperio// esset, infra civitatem remaneret,²⁶ nec etiam illi qui omnibus diebus vite sue ibi habitaverant. Et factus est ex omnibus unus exercitus.

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Interea Alexis novus imperator cogitavit persequi patrum suum, quem ipse iam fugaverat de civitate, et magnum exercitum de Grecis congregavit. Multa etiam dedit donativa et soldos tam militibus quam peditibus nostri exercitus ut cum eo venirent. Ipse quoque marchio ivit cum eo et domnus Heinricus, frater comitis Flandrie. Itaque venerunt Andropolim. Cum autem imperator male persolvisset quod promiserat domno Heinrico, ipse statim relicto eo rediit ad exercitum, et reduxit secum multos, tam militum quam peditum. Marchio remansit cum paucis Christianis cum imperatore. Itaque imperator, cum Grecis suis et cum eisdem Latinis qui cum imperatore remanserant, totam Greciam²⁷ perambulavit, et ab omnibus Grecis universaliter est receptus et approbatus, et omnes primi Graciae hominum ei fecerunt. Demum²⁸ cum toto suo exercitu imperator Constantinopolim revertitur, et cum maximo honore suscipitur, et que promiserat peregrinis et Venetis cepit persolvere, tam in victualibus quam in auro et argento.

Accidit autem, secunda feria post "Ad te levavi," quod Greci iterum contra Latinos in seditionem versi sunt infra Constantinopolim. Concurrunt Greci. Faciunt insultum in Latinos; modo fugant, modo fugiunt. Barones exercitus Latini de hoc malo contristantur. Prohibent ne quis ad auxilium illorum transeat qui tam temere contra Grecos arma moverant. Crevit itaque multitudo Grecorum; Latinos opprimunt. Captos sine misericordia occidunt; occisos igne comburunt. Nec

²⁶ remaneret] remanere MS.

²⁷ Greciam] Gretiam MS MGH.

²⁸ demum] H changes this to deinde.

etati nec sexui parcunt. Ex hoc facti Greci animati Latinos iterum provocant; cum naviculis et barculis suis naves eorum impetunt. Quod peregrini et Veneti moleste ferentes, galias et barcas²⁹ armant; Grecos impetunt. Greci fugiunt. Latini usque ad murum civitatis Grecos persecuntur. Multos occidunt; multas naves Grecorum in portu accipiunt multis mercibus oneratas et victualibus. In die beati Iohannis Ewangelistae iterum, peregrini et Veneti³⁰ galias armant et barcas, et die iam lucescente sunt in portu apud Constantinopolim, et multas iterum naves capiunt. Multi iterum hinc inde occiduntur. In die circumcisionis Domini in primo sompno, Greci XV naves de suis congregant, et illas lignis conscisis, pice et oleo impleverunt, et sic ignem apponunt,³¹ et sic ardentis usque ad naves Venetorum dirigunt, ut eas sic igne comburerent. Una tantum navis arsit. Sequenti die post epiphaniam, Greci in equis exeunt de civitate. Marchio cum paucis illis occurrit. Multi ex Grecis occisi sunt, et quidam ditissimi capti. Duo milites et unus scutifer ex parte marchionis cadunt. Toto etiam tempore huius gwerrae, Veneti cum peregrinis utramque ripam Brachii perambulant cum galiis et barcis, et infinitas reducunt predas. Multa edificia ex utraque parte³² igne destruunt. Finitima loca in circuitu usque ad duas dietas peregrini circuierunt. Predas multas accipiunt; homines capiunt; armenta et greges et omnia quae invenire possunt, secum portant, et multa dampna Grecis faciunt.

Hoc videntes Greci, se scilicet et terram destrui suam, imperatorem suum capiunt et in carcerem retrudunt, et Morsoflum huius proditionis magne auctorem sibi preficiunt et regem constituunt in palacio³³ Blacherni. Interea pleps communis³⁴ et vulgus de Sancta Sophia
 255r alium sibi regem eligunt// Nicolaum, congnomine³⁵ Macellarium. Hunc Morsoflus congregatis totis viribus suis in ecclesia beate Sophie [obsedit],³⁶ et tandem cepit et decollavit, et solus regnare cepit.

Interea etiam domnus Heinricus, frater comitis, cum multis tam equitibus quam peditibus ad castrum quoddam quod Filea dicitur perrexit, et illud cepit, et maximam inde predam reduxit, tam in

²⁹ barcas] batcas MS.

³⁰ et Veneti] om. MGH.

³¹ apponunt] apponentes H.

³² ex utraque parte] parte ex utraque MS.

³³ palacio] palatio MGH.

³⁴ communis] comunis MGH H.

³⁵ congnomine] cognomine MGH H.

³⁶ obsedit] om. MS, add. MGH H.

hominibus quam in aliis rebus. Cum autem reverteretur, predictus Morsoflus cum XV milibus illi insidias posuerat, et congressus pugnavit cum illo, et victus est, et plurimi Greci occisi sunt; et ipse Morsoflus vulneratus est, et vix aufugit, et latuit inter spinas, et perdidit equum et omnia imperialia, coronam scilicet et lanceam et quandam ymaginem gloriose Virginis, que semper³⁷ solebat reges precedere in bello, tota de auro et lapidibus preciosis. Cum hac victoria, rediit domnus Heinricus ad exercitum. Morsoflus quoque de nocte reversus est in civitatem, et extrahens Alexium imperatorem de carcere, laqueo strangulavit.

Interea exercitus preparatur ad inpugnandam civitatem, et omnes se et sua³⁸ omnia receperunt in naves, ut navibus invaderent civitatem. In sexta feria ante passionem Domini, quae fuit Idus Aprilis V^o, naves producunt ad muros,³⁹ et assultum faciunt, et multi tam ex nostris quam ex Grecis occisi sunt. Quia vero ventus erat nobis⁴⁰ contrarius, qui nos a muris repellebat, retro abeuntes portum in quo antea fuimus intravimus, et adventum boree expectavimus. Flare cepit boreas pridie Idus Aprilis; nos iterum naves ad muros applicavimus et cum Grecis dimicavimus et a muris eos repulimus, et intravimus civitatem, et facta est maxima cedes Grecorum. Qui cum importune nobis instarent, ignem misimus, et per ignem eos repulimus a nobis. Veniente nocte, Morsoflus fugit cum paucis.

Sequenti die, Greci omnes ceciderunt ante pedes marchionis, et se et sua omnia in manus eius reddiderunt. Tunc hospicia accepimus, et Greci a civitate fugerunt. Omnia spolia et lucra nostra in commune portavimus, et maximas tres turres argento implevimus. Tunc tractari cepit de imperatore constituendo. Constituti sunt VI⁴¹ ex parte nostra et VI⁴² ex parte Venetorum, quibus data est potestas eligendi imperatorem. Isti convenientes in octava pasche, coram omni multitudine nostra et Venetorum eligunt et nominant imperatorem Balduwinum, comitem Flandrie, qui ab exercitu approbatus est, et proxima dominica sequente, qua canitur “Iubilate,” est coronatus. Eodem tempore, Veneti occupaverunt ecclesiam beatae Sophie, dicentes: “Imperium est vestrum; nos habebimus patriarchatum.” Factum est scisma inter

³⁷ semper] om. MGH.

³⁸ sua] om. MGH.

³⁹ quae-muros] quae fuit Idus Aprilis, quinque naves producunt ad muros MGH.

⁴⁰ erat nobis] nobis erat MGH H.

⁴¹ VI] vi MS sex MGH H.

⁴² VI] sex MGH H.

clerum nostrum et Venetos; clerus noster appellavit, et preordinationem ecclesie beate Sophie domno pape reservavit. Interea ceperunt communia dividere, et quasi quedam preludia XX marcas⁴³ unicuique militi dare, clerico et servienti equiti X marcas,⁴⁴ pediti V marcas.⁴⁵

The Anonymous of Soissons

211F *De Terra Iherosolimitana et quomodo ab urbe Constantinopolitana ad hanc ecclesiam allate sunt reliquie*

Cum per Dei misericordiam, anno Verbi incarnati millesimo de centeno minus uno, civitas sancta Iherusalem et Antiochia cum patria sibi adiacente, in potestatem Francigenorum⁴⁶ Christianorum,⁴⁷ depulsis Sarracenis, devenisset, iterum peccatis exigentibus, anno incarnati Verbi m^o c^o lxxx^o vii^o, Christianus⁴⁸ exercitus a Sarracenis superatus est. Rex Iherosolimitanus captus, templarii trucidati, hospitalarii interfecti, plebs Christianorum⁴⁹ universa aut in captivitatem ducta, aut in fugam huc illuc⁵⁰ conversa, aut in campo gladii impiorum occubuit. Pars etiam ligni sancte crucis in bello est perdita, que postea, ut credimus, nec a nostris nec a Sarracenis est inventa.

Eodem tempore, Salaadinus, dux et dominus Sarracenorum et Turcorum, sanctam civitatem Iherusalem, et omnem terram, preter⁵¹ Tyrum et Antiochiam et Tripolim⁵² et alias paucas munitiones, violenter occupavit. Quo audito, papa sanctissimus, Gregorius tercius [sic MS], per litteras suas per universam Christianitatem⁵³ transmissas, remissionem omnium peccatorum faciens omnibus his qui iter⁵⁴ Iherosolimitanum aggredi et contra Christi⁵⁵ inimicos vellent dimicare, flebilem rei eventum omni populo indicavit.

⁴³ marcas] milia MS MGH, m[arcas] H. Hopf's argument, which I accept, is that the original MS abbreviated marcas as M, which a later scribe misread as milia.

⁴⁴ See above.

⁴⁵ See above.

⁴⁶ Francigenorum] Francigenarum MS.

⁴⁷ Christianorum] Xpistianorum MS.

⁴⁸ Christianus] Xpistianus MS.

⁴⁹ Christianorum] Xpistianorum MS.

⁵⁰ illuc] illac MS P R.

⁵¹ preter] propter P.

⁵² Tripolim] Tripam MS P.

⁵³ Christianitatem] Xpistianitatem MS.

⁵⁴ qui iter] qui tunc iter P R.

⁵⁵ Christi] Xpisti MS.

Tunc, imperator Alemannie, Fredericus nomine, Philippus, rex Francie, Ricardus, rex Anglie, cum maxima procerum, militum, episcoporum, clericorum, et etiam plebis innumerabilis multitudine, sinistris moti rumoribus et sperantes se per Dei gratiam // a domino papa peccatorum suorum veniam consequuturos, iter aggressi sunt Iherosolimitanum. 211V

Sed cum Imperator Fredericus, pene ad centum milibus⁵⁶ militum et plebis multitudine, Ungariam, Greciam, Brachium Sancti Georgii⁵⁷ et maximam partem terre Turcorum, devictis hostibus multimodo, transisset, et pene per omnia pericula ad terram securam venisset, cum se in quodam⁵⁸ flumine balneare voluisset, secreto Dei iudicio, in ipso submersus est. Pene omnes, tam proceres quam equites et pedites, fertilitatem victualium desiderantes de qua diu caruerant, cum ad eam pervenissent, sic ea ultra modum usi sunt, ut infra quindecim dies morerentur. Reliqui⁵⁹ tamen cum filio Imperatoris Frederici in terram sanctam, ante Acram, pervenerunt.

Rex autem Francie, Philippus, et Richardus, rex Anglie, cum suorum tam procerum quam equitum et peditum multitudine, per mare ante Acram applicuerunt. Quam Acram a nostris, scilicet Guidone, rege Iherosolimitano, qui se, data Ascalone, de captivitate redimerat, Comite etiam Henrico Campanie, Andrea de Briennia, Iacobo de Avesnis, et quampluribus aliis proceribus, iam per tres annos pene obsessam invenerunt; et eam, Dei⁶⁰ annuente clementia, infra tres menses per vim, sumptis omnibus Turcis et Sarracenis qui in ea erant cum suis, in manu forti Christiane⁶¹ reddiderunt iuriditioni.⁶²

Interim diabolo instigante, gravis inter reges orta est discordia, per quam opus Dei omnino est impeditum. Hac occasione, supradicti reges, opus Dei imperfectum relinquentes, remanentibus ibi Comite Henrico et marchione Montisferrati⁶³ et quampluribus proceribus, cum suorum parte maxima, ad propria remearunt.

⁵⁶ milibus] millibus R.

⁵⁷ Georgii] Gregorii R.

⁵⁸ quodam] quoddam P.

⁵⁹ reliqui] reliquum P R.

⁶⁰ Dei] diu P R.

⁶¹ Christiane] Xpistiane MS.

⁶² iuriditioni] iuridictioni P R.

⁶³ Montisferrati] Montiferrati P.

212r Post mortem igitur marchionis et Comitis Henrici, inspirante gratia Spiritus Sancti, anno Verbi incarnati m^o cc^o ii^o, Domnus⁶⁴ Nivelu, Suessionensis episcopus, Balduinus, comes Flandrensiu, Lu//dovicus Carnotensiu, Garnerus Trecensiu episcopus, et alii quamplures proceres cum maxima plebis multitudine, per predicationem Domni⁶⁵ Fulgonis, sacerdotis optimi de villa Nulliaco nominata, Parisiensis diocesis, iter aggressi sunt Iherosolimitanum.⁶⁶

Qui Veneciam pervenientes, Venetis ab ipsis nimios sumptus et expensas et premium navium suarum petentibus, nec naves intrare nec retro regredi, cum in insula Sancti Nicholai⁶⁷ essent pene per tres menses, potuerunt. Unde pene rebus suis consumptis, nostri contra habitatores de Jazres, qui Venetorum inimici erant, transfretare a Venetis coacti sunt, ubi quendam⁶⁸ filium Constantinopolitani imperatoris Alexium⁶⁹ nomine, qui ab avunculo suo a regia urbe, patre suo imperatore utroque lumine orbatu et in carcerem recluso, fugatus, in illis partibus delituerat, invenerunt. Hic nostrorum videns multitudinem, ab ipsis humiliter auxilium petiit, promittens et omnimoda securitate confirmans quod si eum in perpetuum imperium restituerent, ipse iter Iherosolimitanum, datis eis prius stipendiis sufficientibus, in propria persona et propriis sumptibus sibi et suis et nostris competentibus per tres annos militaturus, aggredereetur. Quod pactum nostri suscipientes, iter⁷⁰ aggressi sunt Constantinopolim.

Quo pervenientes infra paucas⁷¹ dies regiam civitatem, scilicet Constantinopolim, per vim intrantes, predictum Alexium in patrum imperium sublimaverunt, et ab omnibus Grecis recipi in concordiam, fugato predicto suo avunculo, fecerunt. Qui aliquamdiu⁷² nostros in gratiam recipiens et multis donariis honorans, tandem patris sui utroque lumine orbati et consilio Grecorum deceptus, de itinere Ierosolimitano, quod sponderat, fiduciaerat, sacramento confirmaverat, adimplere recusavit. Qua occasione, nostri ab urbe regia exclusi, inter urbem et mare, Grecis sibi mortem nocte dieque minantibus, morati sunt.

⁶⁴ Domnus] Dominus R.

⁶⁵ Domni] Domini R.

⁶⁶ Iherosolimitanum] Iherosilimitanum P.

⁶⁷ Nicholai] Nichola P.

⁶⁸ quendam] quemdam P R.

⁶⁹ Alexium] Alexim MS.

⁷⁰ iter] om. P R.

⁷¹ paucas] paucos MS.

⁷² aliquamdiu] aliquandiu P R.

Interea // inter Alexium Imperatorem et Grecos orta est discordia propter quam, cum eum ad nostrorum redire consilium velle comperissent, eum nocte quadam transgulerunt; et nostros extra urbem positos in manu forti, nocte media, cum tubis et clangoribus subito et terribiliter invaserunt. Sed Deus, ab alto prospiciens, nostrorum misertus laborem, illos illa nocte illesos reservavit, aliquibus pluribus de suis adversariis interfectis.

Quod nostri conspicientes cum nec mare sine mortis imminenti periculo intrare possent nec in terram morari diutius propter victualium et rerum suarum⁷³ ingruentem egestatem, inito consilio, conscientias suas per lacrimas⁷⁴ et confessionem purgantes et corpus dominicum unanimiter et concorditer summo diluculo sumentes, urbem viriliter aggressi sunt; sed illa die nichil profecerunt.⁷⁵

Altero vero die, machinis in navibus erectis et super muros urbis applicatis,⁷⁶ Dei annuente clementia, quidam miles, Andreas Dureboise nomine, de familia Nivelonis, Suessionensis episcopi, de machinis super muros exiliit,⁷⁷ quem subsequutus Iohannes de Choisi et multi alii viriliter super muros preliaverunt. Alii extra naves positi portas effregerunt, et sic intrans multitudo universa urbem regiam, alios Grecorum interemerunt, alios fugaverunt, aliis sibi parere volentibus pepercerunt.

Tunc nostri, Dei providente clementia, accepta Grecorum securitate et fidelitate, Balduinum, comitem Flandrensiem, in imperatorem sublimaverunt, et eum in ecclesia Sancte Sophie a Nivelone, Suessionensi episcopo, et aliis episcopis Romane Ecclesie subiectis, Grecis applaudentibus, coronare fecerunt.

Tunc predictus venerabilis Nivelon, Suessionensis episcopus, ecclesie sue non immemor, eam exaltare et honorare cupiens, per fideles nuntios cum litteris suo sigillo signatis ad maiorem ecclesiam⁷⁸ beate Marie et sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Prothasii transmisit:

Caput beatissimi prothomartyris Stephani;
Digitum beati Thome Apostoli quem posuit in latus Domini;
Coronam capitis beati Marci Evangeliste;⁷⁹

⁷³ suorum] P R.

⁷⁴ lacrimas] lacrymas P R.

⁷⁵ profecerunt] perfecerunt P R.

⁷⁶ applicatis] aplicatis MS.

⁷⁷ exiliit] exiluit R.

⁷⁸ ecclesiam] ecclesie P R.

⁷⁹ Evangeliste] Evvangeliste MS.

Unam spinam de corona Domini;
 Partem magnam pepli beate Virginis⁸⁰ Marie;
 Partem panni quo Dominus precinxit se in cena.//
 213r Ad Sanctam Mariam ubi sunt moniales:
 Cingulum beate Virginis.
 Apud Sanctum Iohannem:
 Brachium⁸¹ eiusdem Iohannis Baptiste.

Quibus sanctis reliquiis in descensu montis de Maquerel a clero universo, monachis, sanctimonialibus, populo venerabiliter receptis et in ecclesiam maiorem receptis, plures a pluribus debilitatibus, infirmitatibus, et febribus eadem die et ebdomada in Suessionensi matre ecclesia curati sunt. Inter quos quidam cecus de Artichiaco,⁸² magne et antique etatis, qui per multos annos lumen amiserat, statim illuminatus est.

Revoluto postea paucio tempore, cum imperator in bello quodam, peccatis exigentibus, captus vel trucidatus esset et alii multi cum eo, reliqui de Francia se auxilium habere cupientes, Domnum⁸³ Nivelonem, Suessionensem episcopum, ut a domino papa et Francigenis auxilium impetraret, transmiserunt. Qui adveniens ad ecclesiam suam:

Caput beati Iohannis Baptiste;
 Caput beati Thome Apostoli;
 Coronam capitis beati Blasii cum costa ipsius;
 Duas magnas cruces de ligno Domini;
 Virgam Moysi;
 Partem harundinis qua fuit Dominus percussus;
 et alias quamplures reliquias adportavit.
 Ad cenobium Beate Marie:
 Caput beati⁸⁴ Thaddei⁸⁵ Apostoli;
 Unam crucem de ligno Domini.
 Ad Sanctum Iohannem:
 Caput beati⁸⁶ Iacobi Martyris.

⁸⁰ Virginis] Urganis P.

⁸¹ Brachium] bracchium P.

⁸² Artichiaco] Atichiaco MS P R.

⁸³ Domnum] donnum MS.

⁸⁴ beati] om. P R.

⁸⁵ Thaddei] Taddei P R.

⁸⁶ beati] om P R.

Apud Longum Pontem:

Caput beati Dyonsii Areopagite⁸⁷ cum una cruce de ligno Domini.

Alias etiam quamplures reliquias tam ipse quam socii eius per ecclesias parochiales⁸⁸ et conventuales infra Suessionensem diocesim et quamplures extra dimiserunt.

Ad quorum aduentum, plures a pluribus debilitatibus, infirmitatibus,⁸⁹ et febribus, per suffragia sanctorum, in Suessionensi matre ecclesia curati sunt. Que sancte reliquie cum magno episcoporum, monachorum, sanctimonialium, clericorum, militum, populorum, tam extraneorum quam privatorum, concursu, precedente clero cum crucibus et ceroferariis, extra portam Crisie retro Sanctum Lazarum suscepte, et in ecclesiam maiorem pariter sunt translate.

Eodem anno, cum non esset solitum translationem beati Thome tam sollempniter celebrari, edictum est ab episcopo, et clero sollempniter agi et celebrari per totum episcopatum, quod multi spiritu diabolico instigati recusaverunt. Inter quos quedam mulier, amens effecta amisso lumine et auditu, cum ad ecclesiam cathedralem adducta fuisset, variis// agitate incommoditatibus, rogantibus pro ea propinquis et affinibus et⁹⁰ suas oblationes facientibus, eodem die sanata est.

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Eodem die, quidam carpentarius, cum opus suum facere inciperet, neglecto ecclesie precepto, statim arrepto ferramento suo, mortuus est, precedente tamen confessione et mali operis sui satisfactione. Plures etiam in urbe et extra urbem tales in suis operibus senserunt incommoditates, seu sui corporis seu suarum rerum, ut deinceps nil tale presumerent, sed ad ecclesiam pariter cum⁹¹ multitudine plebis confluentes gratias super visis et auditis agentes constituerunt et egerunt diem sollempnem in condensis.

⁸⁷ Areopagite] Ariopagite MS.

⁸⁸ parochiales] parochiales MS.

⁸⁹ infirmitatibus] om. R.

⁹⁰ et] om. P R.

⁹¹ cum] cum R.

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